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# HISTORY OF THE JESUITS.



# THE JESUITS;

▲

## COMPLETE HISTORY

OF

*! THEIR OPEN AND SECRET PROCEEDINGS  
FROM THE FOUNDATION OF THE ORDER TO THE  
PRESENT TIME.*

TOLD TO THE GERMAN PEOPLE

BY

THEODOR GRIESINGER.

TRANSLATED BY

A. J. SCOTT, M.D.

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VOL. II.

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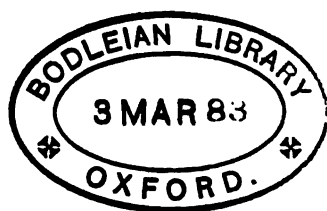
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# BOOK V.



THE PROBITY OF THE JESUITS;

OR,

THE SONS OF LOYOLA IN THEIR TRUE ASPECT.

### MOTTO :

Ich hab's Euch g'sagt, Ihr habt's gehört ;  
Wir sind gewesen lang bethört ;  
Dass Lug und Trug so breit sich macht,  
Die Schwarzröck' haben's dahin gebracht,  
Denn Wahrheit mögen's leiden nit,  
Ist wider ihren Brauch und Sitt.

Vivat Ignatius

Wo sich der Teufel steckt ein Ziel,  
Da han die Schwarzröck' Hand ihm Spiel,  
Und wo man ihn mit Spott und Hohn  
Ersäuft, da laufen sie davon ;  
Denn Wahrheit mögen's leiden nit,  
Ist wider ihren Brauch und Sitt.

Vivat Ignatius!

Auf Landaknecht gut und Reiters Muth,  
Auf, haut entzwei die schwarze Brut!  
Erst müss sie treffen göttlich' Rach',  
Soll oben stahn die gute Sach',  
Die Wahrheit mögen's leiden nit,  
Ist wider ihren Brauch und Sitt.

Vivat Ignatius!

*Altes Soldatenlied.*

## CHAPTER I.

### THE EVERLASTING CONFLICT OF THE SONS OF LOYOLA WITH THE REST OF THE CATHOLIC ECCLESIASTICS.

THE immoral excesses to which many of the sons of Loyola were addicted, and especially the refinement to which they carried their pleasures, produced, as we have seen in the Third Book, deep effects as regards the outer world. The boundless thirst and eagerness of desire after the money and property of other people, in which they did not refrain from the meanest of crimes, as long as these might enable them to attain their object, injured them still more. Especially, however, the war footing on which they stood with the rest of the Catholic ecclesiastics and monkish Orders led to their overthrow as much as anything else, as there arose an almost irreconcilable hatred between them, and neither party rested until one or the other was annihilated.

Whence, now, was this constant state of warfare, and why these eternal feuds among the priestly colleges? The blame rested solely and entirely with the sons of Loyola, because they considered themselves to be servants of the Lord much superior to the rest of those ordained. Naturally, they were, as their name itself indicated, associates of Jesus. Naturally, then, was He in direct command of His combatants and warriors as supreme Ruler. Naturally, then, had He entrusted the principal keys of the gates of heaven to them, His favourite and chosen ones; or rather had Peter, the porter of heaven, received

orders from Him not to give admittance to the Hall of Eternal Happiness to anyone who had not been provided with a passport from the sons of Loyola! That was the principle upon which the Jesuits proceeded, and since upon that account they looked upon all other priests, especially of the monkish Orders, as troublesome competitors, they must necessarily fight with them, as without a struggle no victory could be obtained. One need not, however, on that account at all suppose that the Fathers from the very beginning commenced to bring to the fore any bellicose intentions, to which they endeavoured firmly to adhere; on the contrary, they were always sly enough, wherever they made their appearance, to show the most coy modesty, the most obsequious humility, as well towards the secular as towards the ecclesiastical authorities. Once firmly planted, however, once they had contrived to bring the bishops and princes, or other great people of the land, to stand by them and to support them in the founding of an establishment, they then began with their operations, and quite quietly the magistrates of the land were imbued with the conviction that the Jesuit Order possessed decidedly peculiar advantages over the other Orders.

"We alone," whispered they to the men of high standing, "we the Jesuits alone follow the right way as to the instruction of youth; we alone can bring them into a properly submissive frame of mind; we alone can instil into them that veneration for religion and for the State, that can thereby cause the Popish priesthood and royal despotic power to prosper; wherever, however, our colleges and seminaries do not flourish, wherever hitherto instruction has been entrusted to religious bodies other than ourselves, there has appeared the poison of heresy, and with this the spirit of political disturbance, the essence of conspiracy and of rebellion itself."

With such utterances did they endeavour to render tractable persons of distinction and those in power, and in most cases, also, they were successful.

Still more easily were the pious Fathers able to bring the credulous multitude to the opinion that the Order of Jesus far outshone the whole of the remaining religious communities and institutions; indeed, that it united in itself everything good and useful in all other communities and institutions.

Then the old Order of monks, at the time of the establishment

of Jesuitism, as we have already seen in the First Book, had suffered immensely in the esteem of the people, and the sons of Loyola did not scruple to increase this injury by insinuations, evil defamation, and calumnies of every description. They, the Jesuits, must necessarily profit thereby if the other monks lost ground; why, therefore, should they not make out these latter to be bad, why should they not disclose all their shortcomings, why not even attribute to them other faults which they did not really possess? When their rivals, however, exposed these calumnies, and the Jesuits commenced to defend themselves, and indeed, to repay like with like, they then pushed forward with cannon, sword, and lance, and smote and thrust until the enemy was beaten to death, and could no longer move tongue or any other member.

Thus did the Jesuits hold to their colleges, and I could fill whole volumes with the disputes which they maintained, partly with the secular clergy, especially university doctors and bishops, and partly with monkish brethren; as, for instance, with the Dominicans, the Capuchins, the Benedictines, and every other denomination of monks; but such narratives would but little interest the reader, and, consequently, it may, perhaps, be allowable for me to describe the three chief wars of the Jesuits, and those merely in a summary way and not in detail. What were now, however, those three great contests? Firstly, the war in the colonies, lasting more than a hundred years; secondly, that with the Sorbonne, extending almost still longer; thirdly, the frightful contention with Jansenism. I have already described, in the Second Book, how easily the sons of Loyola caused the Chinese and Japanese to come over to Christianity; in other words, the Christianity introduced into China and Japan, by the Jesuits, was, properly speaking, nothing else than the old Chinese and Japanese paganism, under a somewhat different form, and some few inoffensive innovations.

"In order," thought the good Fathers, "to get proselytes by whom one might be able to attain to power, riches, and dominion, one must, when there is really necessity, shut one eye, or even both, indeed; why, then, deny to the people their ancient usages and customs, as, for instance, the lantern feast, the feast of Phelo, the adoration of Confucius, and such-like? Truly, if we did not act thus, it would, indeed, go badly with

our conversions, and soon should we be obliged, *with the utmost haste*, to leave this charming country, where there are such good pastures for us."

Such were the leading principles of the Jesuits at the eastern extremity of Asia, and on this account they did not scruple to graft Christian names upon heathenish customs, and sanctioned even mandarin clothed priests. Especially they did not fail to render to Confucius the same divine honour as men of distinction among the Chinese accorded him, seeing that, so the pious Fathers argued, this great philosopher and founder of religion was, as the morality taught by him proves, to be regarded as nothing else than a forerunner of Christ, and therefore deserving of a first place in the Christian heaven !

Such was the condition of the Jesuit missions in Asia, but as the Order obviously took good care that nothing of their peculiar methods of conversion should become known in Europe, no one, naturally, took any offence. On the contrary, the Fathers obtained all the greater praise on account of their extraordinary progress, and they were esteemed throughout the whole of Catholic Christendom as the only efficient priests for missionary enterprise.

In the year 1633, however, with the permission of their superiors, Johann Baptist von Morales, the Dominican Father, as well as the Capuchin monk Anton von Sancta Maria, set off for China, in order to make neophytes ; and, in spite of the Jesuits, who, as soon as they got news of the thing, threw all conceivable obstacles in their way, they succeeded in obtaining an entrance into the Celestial Empire. Indeed, their untiring efforts led them, although, truly, not until the lapse of several years, into the vicinity of localities where the Jesuits possessed houses, and they very often had the opportunity of speaking with the Chinese Christians converted by the sons of Loyola, as well as of attending at the Jesuit Christian worship of God. They were not a little astonished, then, when they observed that the Jesuit Fathers allowed their converts the continuance of their heathenish practices—when they convinced themselves that the Black Cloaks bestowed divine honour on Confucius, and even offered to him oblations with their own hands ! This was a horrible abomination in their eyes, and consequently they greeted the Jesuits on that account with the most bitter

reproaches. The latter, however, affirmed that they acted entirely according to the precepts of the Apostle Paul, and ridiculed with all their sharp-wittedness the scrupulous orthodoxy of the monks. Thus many months were occupied in angry controversy, and they even made use of the pulpit to vilify one another. It appeared, also, as clear as day, that the two parties became irritated against each other more and more the longer the strife lasted, and there was never the slightest question of any reconciliation, either on the one hand or on the other.

The Dominican Morales now resolved to claim the assistance of the Pope, and set off forthwith for Rome, in the year 1643; not, however, without previously collecting all the vouchers most minutely, relative to the grievous offences which the sons of Loyola had committed against the Christian Church. Those documents he delivered to the Holy Father, Innocent X., immediately on his arrival in Rome, and gave, at the same time, such an impressive description of the desecration of the Christian altar in China, that his Holiness was seized with the greatest indignation. On this account, a Commission of Cardinals was entrusted with an investigation into the matter, and as it came out beyond question that the Jesuits were frightfully in the wrong, a Papal decree was issued in the year 1644, in which the Fathers were strongly urged not to tolerate for the future the slightest remnant of heathenish superstition, be it ever so trifling, or ever so innocent, but to preach the statutes and ordinances of the Catholic Church in all their purity and fulness.

With this decree in his pocket, Father Morales set off again for China the year following, and at once published the same with triumphant assurance, naturally thinking that the sons of Loyola would, with all humility, submit themselves to the declarations of the Holy See. In this respect, however, he was bitterly deceived. Certainly, indeed, the Superiors of the Order, that is to say, the Father Mandarins in Peking, the President of the Tribunal of Mathematics at their head, declared that "as far as they could" they would render obedience to the Pope; on the other hand, however, they added that an error clearly existed on the side of the Pope, regarding which they would not fail to instruct his Holiness, and in the



meantime, until the issue of the matter, all must, of course, remain for the present *in statu quo*, that is, as it had been "of old." In fact, they in due course sent—not sooner, however, than the year 1654—the brother Martini, with the necessary instructions, and especially with the necessary gold, to Rome, and his task was nothing less than to convince the Holy Office, with the Pope, that the Dominican, through ignorance and stiff-necked envy, had slandered and calumniated the Order of Jesus. It was certainly a difficult task, but the sly Father succeeded in it perfectly, as, just at that time, in the year 1655, Pope Innocent X. died, and his successor, Alexander VII., had such a predilection for the sons of Loyola that he would not allow them to be defeated. Father Martini received thus a most favourable answer, and not only was the decree of Innocent X. revoked, but it was also expressly permitted to the Order of Jesus to accommodate itself to the peculiar customs of the Chinese; besides, the Pope reprimanded the Dominicans for their conduct, and recorded his expectation that they would not trouble the Jesuits any more for the future. It thus appeared that the matter had been arranged in favour of the sons of Loyola, but such was by no means the case. The two Orders of Dominicans and Capuchins felt themselves to be highly insulted by the decision of the Pope, and through other members of their Orders, whom they sent to China, collected over again proof upon proof in order to unmask the Jesuitical heathendom before the Forum of publicity. The Jesuits, however, showed themselves not to be idle, and entered, *in corpore*, on their part into the combat; and there soon showered, from their side, such a deluge of lampoons and accusations of heresy against their opponents, that it was no longer possible to discern what was true and what false.

On this account was it that, after the death of Alexander, both parties, on several occasions, sent deputations to Rome in order to demand a new verdict of Papal infallibility, so that this, the infallible Senate, saw that there was nothing else for it but to appoint a court of arbitration, constituted from among the most noted theologians,—the so-called "Congregation for the Settlement of the True Faith," which now took the matter up with remarkable zeal. Nevertheless, no formal decision was arrived at, either under the Popes Clement IX., Clement X.,

or yet under Popes Innocent XI., or Alexander VIII., and the strife, therefore—thanks to the Jesuit gold, which the divinely-learned Cardinals could not withstand—continued to rage, with undiminished strength, up to the year 1691. In the last mentioned year Innocent XII. ascended the Papal throne, and he, a man of firm determination, gave his decision, after a minute examination of the pros and cons, that the sons of Loyola were entirely in the wrong. Accordingly he sent the Cardinal Carlo Maigrot, as his vicar, to China, armed with a decree to this effect, and the latter, in the year 1693, proclaimed that henceforth all heathenish customs which had been allowed by Pope Alexander VII. were prohibited under the most severe ecclesiastical penalty. Especially the pagan Confucius should no longer be worshipped as a god, but whoever did so would incur everlasting punishment for himself, as well as the Papal curse in addition. This was plain speaking, and had the Jesuits kept, only partially even, their fourth vow, implicit obedience to the Pope, the strife had now come to an end. But it was far otherwise. The sons of Loyola, resident in China, met the communication of the Papal Vicar with an edict to the contrary, in which they termed his conduct as heretical, godless, and unwise; and not satisfied even with this, they cursed him from their pulpits as a deceiver, who had falsely represented himself as an ambassador from the Pope. Lastly, they applied themselves to the Court of Peking, where everything done by them was approved, as we have learned before, and did not rest until Maigrot, formally expelled out of the whole celestial Empire, saw himself necessitated to fly to Goa, in the East Indies, whence he forwarded a report to the Pope regarding the outrageous proceedings of the Jesuits.

What was now the consequence of this violence? Did not Innocent XII. visit the European Jesuits with his righteous displeasure, and did he not demand satisfaction from the General of the same in Rome? Oh no, he did nothing of the kind, as the Courts of Madrid and Paris, in which the sons of Loyola were at that time all-powerful, mixed themselves up in the quarrel, and restrained his Holiness from adopting repressive measures. Indeed, these Courts showed such party spirit, that all the writings which the opponents of the Jesuits published were publicly burnt by the hand of the executioner, while the

sons of Loyola obtained full liberty to bespatter their antagonists with scorn, derision, and insult !

Thus the dispute continued, during several years, without the disgraceful fight being brought to any termination, until at length Pope Clement XI., who obtained the tiara in 1700, was resolved to act, under all circumstances, in the right way, and, if necessary, to bring Papal omnipotence into play. In the year 1702, he sent, therefore, the titular Bishop of Antioch, afterwards Cardinal Charles Thomas Maillard de Tournon, from Goa to China in the quality of a "Nuncios a latere," with the most unlimited powers, in order to investigate, at its source, the origin of the unholy strife, and to act according to circumstances; and he especially empowered him either to approve or condemn the heathenish customs which had been hitherto introduced into Chinese Christianity—to condemn them if thoroughly unchristian, to approve of them if they could be brought in any way into harmony with Christianity without too much scandal. Everyone praised this selection of the Pope, as it was known that de Tournon was no great friend and patron of the Order of Jesus; but it was not the less acknowledged that the purity of Christian faith and teaching, as well as the honour attached to the Papal See, lay infinitely at his heart, as also that his probity rendered him proof against any attempt at bribery. It was thus calculated that he would enter into the matter with the greatest impartiality, and this was the ground upon which the Pope had entrusted him with this highly important commission. Let this be as it may, Tournon set off for China, and was received, even by the sons of Loyola, in an almost more than complaisant manner. They did not in the least change this demeanour towards him for a long time, but, on the contrary, did everything in order to win him over, and he displayed, often and often, unfeigned tokens of his adherence to the Order of Jesus and its interests.

However, after a years' careful investigation, he discovered that the Jesuitical Chinese Christianity was nothing else than heathenism adorned with some slight admixture of Roman Catholic Christianity, and as he, in consequence, proceeded to repress fundamentally such an abomination, then the sons of Loyola at once threw off the mask, and his hitherto submissive friends now became most bitter and malignant enemies. There

was then no fault that they did not impute to him, that of heresy and infidelity being among the least. As, however, in spite of all this, he persisted in condemning the Chinese Christianity as heathenish and godless, they induced the Emperor to be so displeased with him that His Majesty caused the pious zealot to be brought, by force, into the local Jesuit College of Macao, in the year 1710, and there the sons of Loyola constituted themselves his keepers and jailers. Even this was not sufficient for them; but, in order to render it quite impossible for him to return to Europe, to explain to the Pope and the whole of Christendom the doings of the Order in China, they administered to him a deadly poison, in a cup of chocolate, and thus, by force, got rid of their most dangerous opponent.\*

It did not fare much better with the Nunzio Carl Ambrose de Mezzabarba, whom Clement XI. sent as his plenipotentiary to China, in the year 1719, as the Jesuits at once brought the Emperor Kang-hi to be of opinion that it would be in the highest degree inexpedient to allow a foreign European Power, let it be even that of the Pope, to exercise any kind of jurisdiction within the Celestial Empire; and, therefore, Mezzabarba, after he had had five audiences in the highest place, was not only compelled to withdraw entirely, leaving matters unaccomplished, but was told by the Emperor to his face that the Popes, with their contradictory decrees, only produced hatred and confusion among the Chinese Christians. Upon this ground, he prohibited any further interference of the Roman Senate in Chinese affairs; and his successor, Yong-tching, went even still further, as he caused all Christian missionaries to be conveyed over the frontiers of his Empire, with the exception of the Jesuits, who, as mathematicians and calendar-makers, proved themselves to be useful to the State. "He wished to have peace in his country," said he, "and by means of Dominicans and Capuchins, or whatever else they may be called, nothing but disturbances had as yet been occasioned; and, moreover, it appeared to be the intention of the non-Jesuitical monks to

\* The particulars about this are to be found in *Mémoires Historiques présentés en 1724 au Souverain Pontife Benoît XIV., sur les Missions des Pères Jésuites aux Indes Orientales*, par R. P. Norbert. In vol. iii., pp. 99-148, authentic proofs are given by Canon Angelita, of St. Peter in Carcere, who was an eye-witness when the poisoned chocolate was administered to the Cardinal.

make Europeans out of the Chinese, and this intention he must strenuously oppose."

Thus was China henceforth left to the Jesuits alone, and they maintained themselves there up to modern times; for instance, Father Hallerstein, a Suabian, was still active in Pekin in the year 1780, as Mandarin and President of the great Mathematical Tribunal. One can now well imagine that the sons of Loyola, by their conduct in China, made deadly enemies of the Dominicans and Capuchins, and it is equally self-evident that the latter took hold of every opportunity to injure the Order of Jesus and its godless un-Christian conduct, as well as to attack with the most heartfelt satisfaction its immeasurable violence in subjugating the whole world. They succeeded, too, in their object throughout a great part of Christendom, and the Jesuits began to be regarded as people who hunted to death everyone standing in the way of their missions, or daring to oppose them in any respect. The Fathers defended themselves, indeed, in the warmest manner against any such insinuation, or, as they expressed it, calumny; but with every ship that arrived from Asia, new facts became known which were fully confirmed by the affirmations of the Dominicans and Capuchins; and, lastly, precisely the same thing was ascertained respecting their missions in America. Indeed, the cruelty with which they proceeded against Bishops Cardenas and Palafox, in the New World, surpassed even their proved villainy in the struggle with Cardinal Tourman, and I cannot do better than give a short description of these two affairs, at least.

In the year 1641 the Pope nominated the Franciscan priest, Bernardin de Cardenas, to be Bishop of Paraguay, with his See at Assumption, and he occupied this position during three years quite unopposed. He now, however, caused it to be made known that it was his intention to pay a visit to the parishes of the Provinces of Parana and Uruguay, in which, as we know, the Jesuits ruled as lords; and now, although such a visitation was imperative on the Bishop as his bounden duty, the sons of Loyola made at once a terrible stir. It was most necessary for them, indeed, to keep concealed from the world their proceedings in their dominion of Paraguay, and not to allow anything to be made known, either respecting their trade or their State constitution. They therefore endeavoured, at first by

flattering speeches and bribery, to dissuade the Bishop from his intention; as, however, he held to it steadfastly, they at once disputed the right of his episcopal power, and loudly proclaimed, from all their pulpits, that Cardenas had arrogated to himself his alleged dignity, and that, therefore, no obedience need be given to him. Up to this time, however, no real injury had been done to the Bishop, as this could only happen with the assistance of the secular power, and, consequently, the sons of Loyola strove to bring over to their side the Spanish Governor of Assumption, by name Don Gregorio de Hintrosa. This they succeeded in doing with the aid of 30,000 dollars in gold, and the consequence was that the Governor caused the Bishop to be put into a boat, which, being committed to the mercy of the wind and current, floated down the Paraguay river for upwards of eighty miles from Corrientes. Here Cardenas remained during several years, naturally not without the necessary steps being taken for his re-establishment by the Royal Government of La Plata. This authority actually decided, in the year 1646, that Cardenas was the lawful Bishop of Assumption and Paraguay; but as the reappearance of the same where the Jesuits were, in some measure, all-powerful, might lead to regrettable scenes, the Bishop's See was transferred to Popayan, and he was requested to betake himself there as shortly as possible.

With this Cardenas, however, did not comply, as Popayan lay at least a thousand miles distant from Assumption, and, to a man of the Bishop's advanced age, such a journey might readily become dangerous. He continued, therefore, to remain in Corrientes, and thence again endeavoured to have his right accorded to him. His efforts were crowned with success in the year 1648, when the then Governor of Assumption, Don Gregorio de Hintrosa, was recalled and replaced by Don Diego Escobar de Osorio. Upon this, Don Bernardin de Cardenas set off immediately for Assumption, and was there not only received by the new Governor in the most friendly manner, but also immediately established in his Bishopric.

The strife now seemed to have been finally settled; but in reality it was not so. The sons of Loyola possessed such influence at the Spanish Court that no royal servant dare to go against their interests with impunity or without injury. Indeed, as soon as he acted so he might be certain that the

ruling brethren in Madrid, having the ear of the King, would never rest until he was overthrown; and Don Diego de Osorio could expect nothing better if he continued to favour Cardenas at the cost of the sons of Loyola. Consequently, he shortly went over into the Jesuit camp, and the old game was again recommenced. Indeed, it went so far that the Bishop was literally besieged by the sons of Loyola in his own church during fifteen days, with the approval of Don Osorio, and was within an ace of being starved to death! Then Don Osorio died suddenly, and now everything took a different turn. Because Cardenas was much beloved by the people of Assumption, while most of the citizens highly disapproved of the violent conduct of the Jesuits, there arose, on the death of Don Osorio, a kind of revolution, and the result was that Cardenas was appointed, in a great meeting, to be Governor and Captain-General until the King of Spain should nominate another. Of course, the sons of Loyola exerted themselves to the utmost to prevent the carrying into effect of this popular election, but they had already made themselves so universally hated that they did not succeed in this, and, consequently, Cardenas was installed in his new office unhindered, which put into his hands all secular as well as ecclesiastical power over Paraguay. Even this, however, was not sufficient, but the burgesses of the city at once came forward complaining against the Order of Jesus, and demanded that the Fathers, who were unruly people and always brought about quarrels and confusion among the community, should be expelled out of Assumption. This demand was but a just one, and the Episcopal Governor responded to it by requesting, on 6th March, 1649, that the Fathers should quit the city. Seeing, however, that they did not obey, but entrenched themselves immediately in their college, Don Villasanti, the Lieutenant of the Episcopal Governor, proceeded to employ force, and conveyed them on board ship, by which means they were transported to Corrientes.

It was now their turn to eat the bread of banishment, as the year before Don Bernardin de Cardenas had done; but they did not eat it so patiently. On the contrary, they at once assembled an army of 4,000 Indians in their reduction, and placed at their head Don Sebastian de Leon, an officer thoroughly devoted to them, nominating him at the same time provisional Governor of Assumption. They then advanced against the city

in order to take possession of it. This occurred after an almost bloodless fight. Bishop Cardenas, however, obstinately defended himself for ten days in his well-fortified church, which had to be regularly stormed before he yielded.

As soon now as the black cohort had overpowered him, they first of all threw him into a dark underground prison, where he almost rotted, and then conveyed him in a miserable boat to Santa Fé, 200 miles from Assumption.

Once more, then, had the Jesuits gained the victory, and yet a second time had Cardenas seen himself robbed of his dignity and honour. He then again addressed himself to the Royal Government of La Plata in order to demand justice, and himself proceeded thither in the year 1651, with the view that in this way his affair might be all the sooner settled; but, as they put him off from one month to another, and, indeed, from one year to another without doing anything for him, he at last discovered that the sons of Loyola had bribed most of the members of the Government, and he therefore determined upon setting out for Europe in order to demand justice there personally from the Spanish and Roman Courts.

No sooner said than done. But the Jesuits did not remain inactive. Headed by their fellow-brother, Father Pedrasa, they invented such a tissue of calumnies, slanders, lies, and falsehoods, that one would have fancied Bishop Bernardin de Cardenas to be the most thorough scoundrel on the face of the earth, who, from the very commencement, had no other object than injuring as much as he possibly could the dove-like, innocent, sons of Loyola. Still Cardenas, having brought with him the judicial acts which proved the truth of his assertions, he finally succeeded, in spite of the devices and artifices of the Jesuits, in obtaining the upper hand over his enemies. In other words, the Court of Madrid rendered justice to him, and reinstated him in all the honours and dignities of which he had been deprived by the sons of Loyola. Pope Alexander VII. even went still further, and censured the Order of Jesus for its malevolent machinations, which had produced as gross a scandal as there had ever been in the world. But what was now the use of this favourable decision to Cardenas? He died only a few months after obtaining it, and had no chance of taking possession of his Bishopric for the third time.



A precisely similar outrage was committed by the sons of Loyola on the pious Don Johann Palafox, who united in his person the different offices and preferments of an Archbishop of Mexico and a Bishop of Angelopolis and Osina, so that one might have thought a man in such a high position would have been free from attack.

But at whose hands had the sons of Loyola ever anxiety or fear? Never even as regards kings and emperors, and, consequently, most certainly not an Archbishop, even let him be most pious and God-fearing. The first cause of sad strife between Palafox and the Fathers was to be found in the avarice of the latter, as they gave themselves immense trouble to secure for their colleges, by crooked ways, or even by force, certain tithes legally belonging to the Cathedral of Mexico, and thereby compelled the Archbishop to make a complaint against them to the Royal Government. This enraged the Jesuits, and they became all the more furious when the Archbishop gained his case against them in every instance. They consequently sought to revenge themselves on him, and, with this end, made use of every opportunity that presented itself. The best way, however, to make him feel their resentment, they thought, was to ignore his jurisdiction, and, as regarded themselves, they acted just as if he had no existence in the world.

Now it happened to be a law, in the Roman Catholic Church, that no one dare exercise the office of a priest in any diocese without the approval of the respective Bishops, and the Council of Trent especially ordered that all monkish ecclesiastics, without exception, if they wished to preach or hear confessions anywhere, should previously produce their authority at the Bishop's See. When, then, the sons of Loyola wished to perform priestly functions in the diocese of the Archbishop of Mexico, it was required that they should either make the necessary declaration to the latter in person, or, at any rate, to his Vicar-General, and deliver over their authorisation; and if they did not do so, then the Archbishop was entitled to prohibit them from all ecclesiastical functions until further orders.

Such was the law of the Church, and so must it continue if the greatest disorders were to be prevented; as, otherwise, any incompetent person might ascend the pulpit and enter the confessional, and thus bring the priesthood into disrepute.

What did the sons of Loyola do now? They arrogated the priesthood to themselves throughout the whole of Mexico, without ever producing any credentials, precisely as if the before-said law had no application to them!

With the view of checking this misconduct, the Archiepiscopal Vicar-General called upon them, on the 6th of March 1647, to prove their documents of authorisation, and, until this was done, to desist from preaching and hearing confessions. Thereupon the Jesuits replied that they had liberty from the Pope to enable them to exercise their priestly functions all over the world without being first of all obliged to obtain the permission of the respective Bishops. "Good," said now the Vicar-General, "show me your document of privilege, and I will then leave you unmolested." But the Fathers did not comply with this, but intimated that they were in possession of also a further privilege, which dispensed them from showing the first one!

This was open derision of the Archiepiscopal authority, and it was, indeed, setting it completely at defiance, for the Fathers still continued boldly to act as father confessors and preachers, &c. &c. Palafox, therefore, determined to make an example for the protection of his authority against such shameless disobedience; so he interdicted the Jesuits, under the penalty of the great excommunication, from any ecclesiastical function whatever, and at the same time prohibited all Christians in his diocese from confessing to them or attending their preachings.

Most assuredly the Archbishop was perfectly right, and, had the Jesuits been true sons of the Church, as they boasted, they would at once have promptly submitted to his Order. However, they did not contemplate for a single moment acting thus, but, on the other hand, they were seized with boundless rage, and they determined, under all circumstances, to humiliate their antagonist. Now the Viceroy of Mexico, who at that time governed the country in the name of the King of Spain, was a particular supporter of theirs, and they at once greatly increased this friendship by a considerable present; they, therefore, well believed that they might dare to hope that he would, if necessary, assist them by an illegal act. They accordingly addressed themselves to him, and delivered a long drawn-up complaint, from which it was made to appear how very much Palafox had transgressed against the most holy Order of Jesus. The Viceroy thereupon

decided that they were in the right, and ordered the Bishops, by the withdrawal of this threat of excommunication, to allow the Jesuits to carry on undisturbed their preaching and hearing of confessions. The Archbishop, of course, protested against this as an illegal order, and represented to the Viceroy how, by such a proceeding, the whole hierarchical authority in the Church would be upset. In consequence of this, the representative of the Spanish monarch became somewhat startled; so much so, indeed, that he very nearly rescinded his preceding order.

But now the sons of Loyola caused the last mine to be exploded. Suddenly they made bold to execute on their side excommunication against the Archbishop, along with his Vicar-General, and all his officials, and publicly proclaimed by kettle-drum and sound of trumpet throughout all the streets of the city of Mexico this sentence of excommunication, which abounded with the grossest slanders, calumnies, and infamous statements!

"Whoever, be his condition whatever it may,"—this sentence thus ran—"still listened or adhered, from this moment forward, to the Archbishop and his officials, would render himself guilty of rebellion, and, in this case, would be punished, if in the higher ranks, by a fine of 2,000 ducats, or if poor by four years' hard labour; if in the lower ranks, however, with two hundred lashes and four years of slavery in the mines."

It is to be seen that the sons of Loyola adopted no half measures, and it now became a question whether the Viceroy would support their audacious proceedings with his secular authority, as otherwise they would be powerless. But they knew their man, and had him too much in their grasp not to be perfectly certain of him. His peremptory order, therefore, confirmed the Jesuit decree, and the military were instructed to give requisite expression to the violent measures of the sons of Loyola.

What was, now, poor Palafox to do? Should he yield, or oppose force by force? He might, indeed, well adopt the latter course, as the people were entirely on his side, and it was only requisite for him to give a hint in order to arouse to arms all Mexico against the Jesuits and their Vice-regal creature; but his soul shuddered from the shedding of blood, and, consequently, he preferred making his escape secretly from the city in order to find some place of refuge among the mountains, until he might

obtain justice from the Courts of Rome and Madrid, to which he had at once complained.

"I fly," wrote he himself to Pope Innocent X., "into the mountains, and seek in the society of serpents and scorpions that security which is denied to me so perseveringly by the implacable Society of Jesus. After wandering for twenty days with the greatest danger to life, and with such a pressing want of food that I had frequently nothing for nourishment but my tears, I finally found a small hut, with whose poor inhabitants I have concealed myself during four months."

Now were the Jesuits masters of Mexico, and they played the part of lords with a despotism which has seldom been exercised by any usurper. Everything must yield to their caprice, and whoever dared in the slightest to blame their proceedings might expect banishment and imprisonment, if not, indeed, the scaffold. No one saw any other means of escape except by adhesion to their faction, and thus they managed that the Chapter of the Cathedral declared the Archbishopal See to be vacant. Against this the Vicar-General of the fugitive Palafox certainly remonstrated, as also some other of his adherents, but they were so firmly secured in prison that their voices could no longer be heard. In short, everything was done that could be thought of to smother the voice of justice, and to this was added a still more abominable and cruel insult such as the devil himself could scarcely have devised.\* It had now come to this, that a new Archbishop was on the point of being nominated, thereby putting a crown on the conduct of the Jesuits, when all at once a royal fleet made its appearance in the harbour of Veracruz, from Spain, bringing commissaries, who at once came into the city of Mexico, accompanied with several officers of high rank.

What was it that brought these three commissaries? Nothing else than the deposition of the then Viceroy and the transfer of his appointment to the Bishop of Yukatan—nothing else than an order to reinstate at once the Archbishop Palafox with all honour in his bishopric, and strictly to carry into effect his orders previously issued against the Jesuits.

\* The scholars of the Jesuits formed a public procession calculated to degrade the dignity of the Archbishop, and led a mangy horse through the streets, to whose tail the Bishop's bonnet and staff were tied. They also sang the most shameful ditties, in which Palafox figured as a heretic, and a blessing of the people in his name was bellowed through a cow's horn.

Not long after this, a Papal brief arrived in Mexico, which blamed the sons of Loyola even more severely than that of the King, and imposed silence upon them as to this matter for ever afterwards—a brief which contained at the same time the greatest praises of Palafox, and esteemed him as a martyr of the true Church.

For this time, then, the right cause obtained the victory, and the Jesuits never again succeeded in causing the revocation of the royal or Papal orders, much as was the trouble they gave themselves with this object. But how little had it come short of their violent despotism being triumphant? In any case, moreover, they showed by this procedure, exactly as was previously described, that their most earnest endeavour was to hunt everyone to death who dared to oppose them, as also that they shrunk from no means, even the most wicked that could be devised, for the accomplishment of this purpose. Even yet more than by these contentions did the sons of Loyola injure themselves, through their long-enduring strife with the theological faculty of Paris, the so-called Sorbonne,\* as the decisions of this celebrated institution were held in such esteem, not alone in Paris, but throughout the whole of the Christian world, that they were frequently regarded more as divine oracles than the views of fallible men.

The so-called Sorbonne, however, that is, the whole doctors and professors of theology of the University of Paris, when called upon by the Government to express an opinion as to whether the Society of Jesus should be permitted or not in France, pronounced, in the first week of Christmas 1554, the following judgment:—

“This Society (namely, the Society of Jesus) which arrogates to itself in an unseemly manner the name of Jesus—which has for a principle to admit into its midst even punishable, dishonourable, and infamous men, so long as they might be employed usefully for the fraternity—whose members are dis-

\* In the year 1250 Robert de Sorbonne, in Champagne, chaplain of Louis the Holy, founded an educational establishment at the University of Paris for young secular ecclesiastics, which was named after him “Sorbonne,” and as this institution, at which only theological professors of the University of Paris taught, soon acquired a great reputation, the name of Sorbonne was very soon transferred to the entire theological Faculty of Paris. Thus it remained up to the times of the Revolution, and the Sorbonne constituted the united tribunal of the Parisian doctors of theology, which was long regarded as the most learned in the world.

tinguished neither by their habits, their worship of God, nor in their mode of life, from secular clergymen,—which has been endowed by the Holy See with so many different privileges, indulgences, and liberties in relation to preaching and teaching, as also in regard to the administration of the sacrament, against the rights of bishops, and to the prejudice of all the other Orders, quite contrary to hierarchical order, and to the injury of secular princes and rulers, finally to the great detriment of the liberties of universities, and to the uncommon inconvenience of the people,—this Society disgraces the monkish Orders, weakens the laborious, pious, and necessary exercise of virtue in the cloisters, permits the members of other Orders to desecrate their vows, releases the laity from the obedience due to, and the submission prescribed for their regular spiritual advisers, robs secular and ecclesiastical authorities of their rights, and gives rise to disturbances in both directions, occasioning as well much trouble, strife, divisions, and other discords among the people. When, in a word, one would sum up everything, it appears that this Society is fitted to endanger the Faith, to disturb the peace of the Church, to extinguish the monkhood, and is especially calculated to pull down rather than to build up."

Such was the judgment of the Sorbonne in the year 1554, at a time when the Society of Jesus first of all commenced to exercise their activity; and one may well imagine what influence this judgment exercised upon the French, at least on the more cultivated amongst them. It is also remarkable that the said most learned theological faculty, from which emanated those views and principles, never in the least again departed from them, even after the whole of the French Court, not excluding the heads of it, even as high as the all-powerful Kings, became in the fullest degree favourable to Jesuitism, and the said doctors of theology of Paris might have derived great advantages therefrom if they could have accommodated themselves to the views of the Court. I said it was remarkable, and I believe I may repeat this with all the more justification, as the theologians of the Sorbonne pronounced that severe judgment by no means from a greater religious liberality and free-mindedness. On the contrary, there was no one in France who was more zealous in combating the Reformation than were the Sorbonne and most of its members, as, for example, Drs. Maillard, Demochare,

Perior, and Oeri, distinguished themselves for their truly inhuman hatred of the heresy. Now, if this judgment on the Jesuits was a severe one, the celebrated Stephen Pasquier went even still further, and it is a matter of astonishment, to see how profoundly and radically he knew how to anatomise the Society of Jesus. Moreover, it was not simply on his own account that Pasquier handled the matter before the Parliament of Paris, but as representative of the Sorbonne, and thus his words are to be regarded as those of the College. But, it may be asked, why was it that the Sorbonne required an advocate in Parliament? Simply for this reason, that it had a law-suit with the Jesuits, and truly a most determined one.

Hardly had the sons of Loyola, in spite of the opposition of the University of Paris, obtained permission, under certain conditions, which, however, were certainly very stringent ones, to establish themselves in Paris, than they at once infringed these conditions in the grossest manner, and finally demanded for their college in the Rue Jacob similar rights and privileges to those possessed by the Sorbonne. Against this, however, the entire University of Paris remonstrated as one man, and demanded the relegation of the arrogant Fathers within the bounds of order. The University was perfectly right, and almost all Paris, and, indeed, almost all France, stood by it. The Court, however, was against it. Now, the sons of Loyola well understood how to win over to their side a depraved Court, as that of France was in the 16th, 17th, and 18th centuries, and a most depraved one it was. They only too effectually influenced the Court, and obtained from it the favour of bringing their affair with the University before the highest law tribunal of the country, namely before the Parliament of Paris.

It would, nevertheless, have been better for them had they not obtained this favour, as Etienne Pasquier, the advocate of the Sorbonne, told them truths which they had never heard before, and the whole enlightened world accorded to him their applause. Before everything, he laid bare the spirit of the Order of Jesus, and proved, by irresistible arguments, that its members knew how to blind the world through its sophistries, as well as by degrees to exhibit their four ill-famed vows in quite a different light from what they appeared, whenever it was requisite for them to do so.

"Their whole system depends," said he, "on duplicity"; and this duplicity was so dangerous to the quiet and security of the State, that he, Pasquier, maintained a firm conviction that the tendency of this sect had no other object than to bring about a complete disunion amongst all classes. "Wherever the Jesuits are tolerated," he exclaimed, "there no prince and ruler can place himself in security against their attacks; there is sure to be a rupture in the peace of the Church." He proved that it impoverished whole families by its absorption of their property; that it destroyed numbers of young people by an education which was merely apparent and superficial; that by its deceptive teaching it had sown the seeds of rebellion and disloyalty throughout the whole of France. Lastly, he addressed himself to Parliament in the following words: "You, if you are at all inclined to tolerate the Jesuits in any way, will too late repent your credulity, and posterity will condemn you for it, as the literal proof is even now apparent, and will develop itself still more clearly in future times; the matter-of-fact evidence is, that it will disturb the public peace, not merely of this kingdom, but of the whole world also, by artifice, deceit, superstition, hypocrisy, and malicious tricks."

Thus spoke Etienne Pasquier, and can anyone now entertain a doubt that it would have been much more to their advantage had the sons of Loyola refrained from strife with the Sorbonne? They injured themselves, however, far more by that other wrangle which, under the name of "the Jansenist dispute," obtained in a measure a world-wide fame, as through it they made for themselves not merely thousands but hundreds of thousands of deadly enemies; and by it the entire Catholic clergy of the world arrived at the conclusion that one must either think and teach as the Jesuits, or else be treated by the sons of Loyola as an apostate from the Catholic religion! As regards this strife with Jansenism, the case stood as follows.

Regarding the doctrine of predestination as well as of grace and the free-will of man there had ever existed, from the establishment of Christianity, a difference of opinion among theologians, and the great teachers of the Church, Augustine and Pelagius, were diametrically opposed to each other on these three questions. Who was in the right I know not, and, at all events, it does not appertain to speak of the matter here. This,



however, was a fact, that the teaching of Augustine was declared, by far the greater majority of theologians, to be the only orthodox and correct doctrine; while the Pelagians, and, indeed, the semi-Pelagians, who thought partly with Augustine, and partly with Pelagius, were condemned as heretics by all the Synods of the 5th and 6th centuries. Thus Pelagianism and semi-Pelagianism disappeared almost entirely out of the world, and no one thought more about the matter until it pleased the Jesuits Leonhard Less, Johann Hammel, Benedict Fonseca, Ludwig Molina, and others, to broach principles in their theological works, and from the professorial chairs in their colleges, which savoured completely and entirely of semi-Pelagianism. Especially was this the case in the celebrated work of Molina, a Portuguese Jesuit, which, under the title of *Concordia Divinæ Gratiae et Liberi Arbitrii* (the Harmony of Divine Grace and Free-will), appeared in the year 1588, and the Dominicans, as zealous adherents to Augustine orthodoxy, did not fail, of course, to put in the pillory, quite relentlessly, the semi-Pelagian heresy contained therein. Forthwith there arose a violent strife, and there appeared, for and against, an innumerable quantity of party-writings, as the whole of the Society of Jesus to a man took the part of Molina, while several Universities, especially those of Louvaine and Douai, as well as a large number of bishops and archbishops, not to speak of the inferior clergy, fought on the side of the Dominicans. Even the Inquisition mixed itself up in the matter, and was nearly committing to the flames the book of Molina together with its author. The Jesuit General, Aquaviva, now succeeded in persuading the Pope, Clement VIII., just at the right time, to bring the whole strife before his Forum, and to prohibit the Dominicans from taking any further individual action in the matter, as in such a weighty affair the Holy See had alone the right of decision. The Pope then issued his mandate, and both parties hastened to forward to Rome the acts and documents which were in their possession, especially the arbitraments of the universities and bishops which were favourable to them. Clement VIII. now nominated a commission of investigation, which, under the title of *Congregatio de Auxiliis Divinæ Gratiae*, held its first sitting on the 2nd of January 1598. The cause, therefore, proceeded precisely as in a secular Court of

Justice, and both parties were represented by their counsel; the Dominicans by the learned brethren Alvarez and Lemoz, and the Jesuits by the Fathers Bellarmin, Arrubal, and Valentia; and, of course, both parties neglected no opportunity, the former as well as the latter, in working upon the judges, even through the influence of foreign princes; as, for instance, the services of the bigoted Jesuitly-inclined Empress Maria Theresa (spouse of Rudolph II.), as also of her similarly-minded son, the Archduke Albert, were appealed to. But it happened that the Commission, on account of these many intrigues, were not able to come quickly to any decision, as from the year 1598 to the year 1605 not fewer than sixty-seven sittings were held; and although the President and Chairman, Cardinal Madruzus, at the urgent request of Clement VIII., worked untiringly to bring the case to a conclusion, the said Pope had to take his departure from this world without his being able to pronounce judgment against Molina, as he secretly wished to do, although he took good care not to let it be publicly known that such was his desire. Also Paul V., his successor, although he sat for nearly sixteen years upon the Papal throne, from 1605 to 1621, and presided himself for the most part at the many sittings of the Congregation, did not outlive the termination of the strife, and neither did Gregory XV. It was perceived at the time; both by the College of Cardinals, as well as on the part of the Pope, that it was much wiser to keep a dead silence about the whole of the vexatious matter, which had actually no practical value, than by a decision either to offend the Jesuits and their adherents, or the Dominicans and their allies; so the affair was allowed to remain in abeyance in the hope that it might be forgotten by the world. Such would, indeed, without doubt, have happened, and, indeed, really did occur for more than forty years from the holding of the first sitting of the Congregation, when a book appeared, in 1640, which at once renewed the strife, and, moreover, brought it to such a height as could not previously have been conceived. This book was entitled *Augustinus seu Doctrina de Humana Nature, Sanitate, Aegritudine et Medicina, adversus Pelagianos et Massilienses* (Augustine on the doctrine of health, disease, and the cure of human nature, as regards the Pelagians and semi-Pelagians, called Marseillaise). The author was Cornelius Jansen, who died Bishop of Ypern in

the Netherlands, in the year 1638. There was a very great amount of learning put into the work, as Jansen\* had laboured at it for more than thirty years, and it contained extracts from the thirteen folios of Augustine, together with some from the writings of Bajus and other teachers of the Church; but as it contained so much learned rubbish, and also because, when it came to be printed by the friends of the deceased bishop, in the year 1640 at Louvain, and the year following in Paris, it had become an immensely thick folio volume, but very few would have given themselves the trouble to read it if people had been so prudent as to have maintained silence about it. Yes, truly, the book would have gone the way of all flesh, just as many folios before and after it, and the lay world, as even the greatest part of the ecclesiastical fraternity, would have heard but little about it, if the sons of Loyola had possessed a little less poison in their nature. But scarcely had they discovered that the Molinists had met with little mercy in the book, than they regularly began to cast forth fire and flames; and their General, Vitelleschi, gave himself no rest until he had worked up Pope Urban VIII. to such a pitch that he induced His Holiness to condemn the work of Jansen as heretical, by a special Bull, emitted in the year 1643, called, from the words by which it commences, "*In eminenti*." The Pope did this without even having read the work! He trusted to the assurances of the Jesuits, and he flattered himself in being able to decide as supreme arbitrator in matters of faith. Amazed, however, the friends of the deceased Jansen asked in the public journals what was heretical about the book, and a number of learned theologians were induced thereby to look into the contents of the work more minutely. There then arose opponents and adherents of Jansen, and among the latter, who now called themselves Jansenists, were men like Anthony Arnauld, Blaise Pascal, Pierre Nicole, and Nicholas Perrault, whose names shone as stars of the first magnitude in the firmament of letters. Moreover, a number of bishops and university doctors, with other ecclesiastics of eminence, ranged themselves on the side of the Jansenist-Augustine party, and a particular pattern cloister-

\* Jansen, born in Holland in the year 1585 in a small village near Leerdam, studied theology in Utrecht, Louvain, and Paris. He was advanced to be professor of theology, and obtained the bishopric of Ypern in 1636.

school was established close to the celebrated Cistercian nunnery, under the patronage of the Abbot of St. Cyran, Jean de Vergier du Havranne, in Port-Royal des Champs, in order to oppose the dissolute Jesuitism, and set up a purer morality, as well as a more solid and learned education.

In short, through the Condemnation Bull "*In eminenti*," as well as the immeasurably violent polemic of the Jesuits against the work, Jansenism was, properly speaking, called into existence, and it won, as well throughout the Netherlands as in France, an increasingly powerful number of adherents in each succeeding year; and the conclusion cannot be avoided that nobility of thought and a truly Christian spirit were much better represented in it than in the Jesuitical Molinism. This stimulated the sons of Loyola all the more to get the power into their own hands, in order to subdue their opponents by violent measures; and this, in the course of time, they but too well succeeded in doing. It is, of course, not my intention to describe all the details of the war between these two parties, which lasted up to the year 1728 in France, and in the Netherlands even up to modern times, as in that case my work would become as thick a folio as that of "*Augustinus*"; but I cannot refrain from giving a slight outline of the contention, and, indeed, on this account, because the sons of Loyola fought, forsooth, with weapons which could not be called either honourable, knightly, or manly.

In the first place, they extracted five propositions out of "*Augustinus*," which, when read without connection with the context, acquired a Calvinistic colouring, and, in the year 1658, they thereupon moved Pope Innocent X., the successor of Urban VIII., to condemn these five propositions. As they had gone so far, they now urged Cardinal Mazarin to carry out with force the Papal Bull of Condemnation, and seeing that at that time the all-powerful Minister of France was an obsequious adherent of Rome, they had but a too easy game to play. This oppressive measure, however, did not succeed in silencing the Jansenists, but they proved, on the contrary, that these five propositions did not stand in "*Augustinus*" in the way the Jesuits had represented; and they declared "that these five propositions had quite a different sense when taken in connection with the context, and that the Pope had condemned something

with the nature of which he had not previously made himself acquainted."

This did not please the Papal See, and Innocent's successor, Alexander VII., in the year 1656, emitted a new Bull, at the instigation of the sons of Loyola, wherein he ordained that every Catholic Christian must believe, at the peril of his soul, that the five propositions had been rightly condemned. "Nonsense," rejoined thereupon the leader of the Jansenists, "the Pope cannot condemn a thing that has no existence at all." "Yes, indeed, he can," exclaimed the Jesuits, "and if he were even to order us to deny Jesus Christ we are bound to obey him, as he is all-powerful and infallible in matters of belief, and he is responsible for this order, and not we."

Thus the strife waxed continually warmer and warmer, and there was really some danger that a conflagration might arise which would consume the whole of France. On this account, Pope Clement IX., who succeeded to the tiara in 1667, was induced, in conjunction with the then ruler of France, to give peace to the land, and, in fact, in the year 1668, their exertions were crowned with success in bringing about a compromise between the two contending parties. It consisted in this, that the leaders of the Jansenists should declare that the five notorious propositions were indeed damnable, and were rightly condemned, but that they did not appertain to Cornelius Jansen, and did not stand in "Augustinus" in that sense. With this explanation the Jesuits had to be satisfied, and the Jansenists obtained peace to a certain extent.

But how long did it last? Commencing in the year 1671, the celebrated theologian Paschasius Quesnel, of the Order of the Fathers of the Oratorium, published gradually, that is to say, in parts, the New Testament in the French language, accompanied with moral reflections; and this work, which was completed in the year 1683, was greeted by all believers in France with much enthusiasm, on account of its edifying contents. Also, even many spiritual guides highly recommended it to their confessing children, as, for instance, Benignus Bossuet, Almoner of the Dauphin and Bishop of Meaux, and also Louis Anton Roailles, Cardinal Archbishop of Paris, as well as Pierre La Broue, Bishop of Mirepoix, and many others besides. The Sorbonne, even, had nothing but praises to bestow upon the

book, and the same judgment of it was pronounced by Pope Innocent XII., to whom it had been submitted. This New Testament, however, appeared in quite a different light to the Jesuits, as they discovered in it so many contradictions to their doctrines of grace, as also to their moral theology, that they became most vehemently incensed against it. In such matters they presumed to lay claim to be the sole true teachers of Christianity; was it not, therefore, deeply insulting to them to have a doctrine of theirs attacked even remotely? Certainly; the whole body of theologians, the entire Church, all that existed, must accommodate themselves to the opinions of the black-cloaked Fathers, or otherwise must expect nothing else than to be persecuted to death by them! Unanimously, therefore, and with a true shout of defiance, did they fall foul of Quesnel's book, and persuaded all bishops who had hitherto given adherence to it to condemn the latter in their pastoral letters; as the ground for such condemnation, however, the Jansenist tendency of it was given, as was evident from a perusal of almost any line, and thus the Jansenist strife was re-awakened after it had been with difficulty lulled to sleep hardly two years before. Yes, indeed, the old contention awoke again, and, in truth, with double and treble vehemence, so that the whole of France was drawn into the vortex.

This time, however, the Jesuits no longer contented themselves with the poisonous operation of invective and slanderous pamphlets, but they added thereto the thunderbolts of secular power, as Louis XIV., the ruler of France, had in the meantime become a weak and aged hypocrite, and allowed himself to be completely governed by the Jesuit Father Confessor La Chaise, and by his equally Jesuitically-disposed mistress Madame de Maintenon.

"Down with the Jansenist heretics," was the war-whoop of the Jesuits; "down with them, as well as with the Huguenots and the Calvinists; with the aid of the sword must one make an end of such people. We have tried long enough, now, by instructing and converting, we have long enough brought all peaceable means into use, and long enough strained every fibre of our patience. Now is the pitcher full to overflowing, and there remains nothing else for it but conversion with blood and iron if tranquillity and order is to be re-established in the State."

Thus shouted the Jesuits, and, as has been already said, they had the King—in the plenitude of his royal power established, it may almost be said, as absolute monarch of the world—completely in their hands; one can easily imagine, then, what now followed. Everyone was quite arbitrarily proceeded against who professed Jansenism, or whom the Order of Jesus suspected to be a Jansenist because he displeased the Order in some respect or other, and soon no one throughout the whole of France, with the exception of declared adherents of the Jesuit party, was any longer sure of his liberty, honour, property, or even of his life. Quesnel, himself, with a great part of his more wealthy adherents, fled to the Netherlands, and thus escaped the vengeance of his furious enemies;\* on this account, therefore, the Order of Jesus expended its fury on Port Royal, and actually carried it so far as this, that this delightful cloister, as the nursery and chief abode of Jansenism, was not only shut up by the police of Paris, but, in the year 1709, was completely demolished and destroyed, with all the many structures belonging thereto. Moreover, all the prisons of France, and more especially the Bastille, were filled in a frightful manner with those suspected of Jansenism, and whoever was put into it might be quite certain that he would only come out again from its miserable walls as a corpse.

The whole of France groaned under these despotic deeds of violence, and, because it was well known from whom these acts proceeded, so the day on which the wicked Father Confessor, La Chaise, died—it was the 20th February 1709—was hailed as an occasion of universal rejoicing. Still the joy soon became changed into the deepest grief, as, after the wicked La Chaise followed the still more wicked Le Tellier, who was even richer in evil artifices, and, even more than his predecessor, got the old repentant sinner called Louis XIV. more completely in his power.

The persecutions of the Jansenists, or, rather, of all those who would gladly have got rid of the Jesuits out of the way, not only still continued, but were aggravated more and more, and again a considerable number of French citizens fled into the neighbouring Netherlands for greater safety. In order, now, to give

\* He died in exile at Amsterdam in the year 1710, an old man of seventy-six.

an appearance of justification for these persecutions, Le Tellier begged Pope Clement XI. to appoint a court of investigation regarding the heresy of Quesnel, after the pattern of the *Congregatio de Auxiliis*, and His Holiness at once acceded to this request. Indeed, further, he nominated as judges in the investigation none but adherents of the Jesuits, and appointed Cardinal Fabroni, a bosom friend of the Society, to be President of the Congregation. But what put a crown upon the affair—of all these judges only one single one of them understood the French language, and they had to read a work written in French, deliver their judgment upon it, and condemn it! In fact, it was a colossal comedy, the like of which had, indeed, never before been acted; but what did that signify, if only the believing world could be deceived?

The Congregation thus held its sittings, and the member Aubenton, who understood French, soon brought it about that 101 propositions of the Testament of Quesnel were designated as dangerous, calculated to give offence, and heretical. Truly, these included even statements out of the Bible itself, as well as doctrinal propositions of the holy Augustine and other orthodox Fathers of the Church. This was done without the learned members of the Congregation having any conception of it, as they had not, all of them, made much particular progress in the study of the Fathers or of the Bible—but what did that also signify? Suffice it to say, the Jesuit Jouvenci concocted a Bull, in which the said 101 propositions were solemnly condemned, and, on the 8th October 1713, the Pope published the document, which, according to the words by which it commences, was called *Unigenitus*.

Now the sons of Loyola had an ostensibly justifiable foundation for their Jansenist persecution, and while Louis XIV. stood firmly by them with his regal power, they hoped to be very quickly rid of Jansenism, and, moreover, of all their enemies in France. This hope, too, was literally fulfilled, although Louis XIV. died two years afterwards, and many French Bishops declined to accept the Bull *Unigenitus*, as being an infringement of the rights of the Gallican Church.

As Louis XV., whom Cardinal Fleury governed completely, followed in the footsteps of his grandfather, he finally, in the year 1728, promulgated a so-called *Lit de Justice*, the con-



sequence being that the last of the Jansenists took flight to Utrecht in the Netherlands. In this manner the great Jansenist strife came to an end, and the sons of Loyola could boast of having gained the victory. But although the triumph was physical, it was in no respect a moral conquest. On the contrary, the world learned by it how to estimate the Jesuits, and this did them more harm than if they had completely ignored the Jansenist "Augustinus." Moreover, Jansenism continued in full force in the Netherlands, and it is now there recognised by not less than twenty-seven communities. Its adherents, however, do not call themselves Jansenists, but "Scholars of the holy Augustine," as they hold strictly by the teaching of this Father of the Church, and remain antagonists of Jesuitism.

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## CHAPTER II.

### THE REPULSIVENESS OF THE JESUIT CONSTITUTIONS, DOCTRINE, AND TEACHING.

I HAVE already narrated, in the First Book of this work, in what way, on what principles, and with what rules the Order of Jesus was constituted ; of all this, however, besides the Society itself, no one, with the exception of the Pope, was made acquainted ; and still less did mankind in general know how the original statutes and rules of the Order had been further added to by the later Generals. The sons of Loyola preferred rather to shroud themselves in secrecy in this respect, without doubt, because they were well aware how superstitious people always looked upon secrets with mingled wonder and awe ; still more, however, lest on this account the world should be thrown into a severe panic, by becoming acquainted with the contents of their constitutions, rules, and principles. Enlightened people very soon formed an opinion respecting the latter, and we perceive, for instance, from the letters of Bishop Palafox to Pope Innocent X., in the year 1649, that he had a very bad suspicion of the Jesuits, on account of their antipathy to the enlightenment of the people.

“The resolutions and conclusions,” he writes, “of the general assemblies of the Church, as of the popes, cardinals, bishops, and more especially the clergy in general, are known to the whole world, and show that at no time whatever has the Church shunned the light, while darkness is an abomination to

her. In like manner writings are to be found, in every well-appointed library, respecting the liberties, rules, ordinances, and principles of all ecclesiastical Orders; a Franciscan novice, for instance, can see and become acquainted with everything he has any need to know, should he, later on, become General of the Seraphic Order. But the Jesuits, alone, shroud themselves intentionally in a darkness which the laity are completely forbidden to penetrate, and the veil is not even uplifted to many of their members. There are among them a large number who have taken merely three vows, but not the fourth, and who are, in consequence, not at all, or at any rate not properly, instructed regarding the true principles, institutions, and liberties of the Order. This secret, on the other hand, is entrusted, as is known to His Holiness, to only a small number, and whatever is especially important is known only to the Superiors and the General. Besides, their form of Government is not regulated according to the rules of the Catholic Church, but is carried on according to certain secret principles, only known to the chiefs, the motives being concealed from many of the subordinates, without reasons ever being given to them, or even the circumstance, investigated. In short, the Order of Jesus forms quite a peculiar institution, which is conducted neither according to the customary regulations of the Church nor according to the usual laws of reason, and it may, therefore, be well considered that its secret operations do not at all correspond to the words of Jesus, 'I am the Light of the World.'"

Thus wrote Palafox, and many other clear-headed people thought precisely the same; but in spite of this evil suspicion which was entertained as to the Order of Jesus, people in general still remained in the dark regarding its rules, as well as concerning its internal government, and it was long, indeed, doubted whether such rules existed; that is, whether they were extant in print, or even in writing. By degrees, however, some few began to be brought to the notice of the outer world; one learnt, for instance, for the first time in the year 1584, and, therefore, at a period when the Order had already become extended among the rich of this earth, and had obtained considerable power, that its rules had been printed. Nevertheless, only for the use of its members, and under the strictest orders

that the book should not be allowed to reach profane hands. With this foresight, moreover, it was whispered, the Order was not yet satisfied, but there existed, on the other hand, a regulation that the more important statutes and instructions which the chiefs applied were to be only in writing, and even then there were just such a number of copies as was absolutely necessary; so that besides the lay world, the bulk of the Order, too—that is, the novices, coadjutors, and scholastics—could have no knowledge of the same, as there were things which were not fitted for everyone's ears. It was thus whispered, I repeat; but this rumour embodied the truth, and the more profound secrets of the Society were, on this account, never completely revealed.

As regards many, however—and, indeed, very many—it was, in the lapse of time, no longer necessary to preserve such extraordinary secrecy, and accordingly, in the year 1635, they were printed under the following title: *Ratio et Institutio Societatis Jesu* (The Nature and Institution of the Society of Jesus).

A new edition of the Society's rules came out subsequently, in which were comprehended a number of things—as, for instance, Papal briefs, decrees of the General of the Order, and of the General Assemblies or Congregations, the professed, regulations for the colleges, and school precepts, &c.—which had been considered for fifty years “as not suitable for printing.”

A third edition, still more complete, appeared in the year 1702, in two thick quarto volumes, having the following title: *Corpus Institutorum Societatis Jesu, in duo volumina distinctum; accedit Catalogus provinciarum, domorum, collegiorum, &c. ejusdem Societatis. A Antverpiæ apud Joannem Meursium* (Compilation of the Regulations of the Society of Jesus, in two volumes, to which is added a list of the whole Provinces, Houses, Colleges, &c. of the Order).

Lastly, there appeared, in the year 1757, a fourth edition, issued from the printing press of the Jesuit College at Prague, also in two volumes, quarto, and this was, or rather is, the most complete of all, as in it are incorporated the newest decrees and orders of the General Congregations, as well as the briefs of the Generals of the Order from Ignatius Loyola to Ignatius Visconti inclusive; all others, therefore, are merely copies of the third edition, as they bear the same title, and nothing more has consequently been made known of the Order since the year 1702.

All this, taken together, shows us clearly enough that not too much printed matter is to be found concerning the Jesuit Order, but the little extant, when we can get a sight thereof, perfectly suffices to give the world a correct idea of that Society. This knowledge, however, was not intended to be imparted to mankind, and, indeed, simply on this account, because the sons of Loyola never on any occasion committed a copy of their statutes to a layman, and, indeed, not even to a brother of low rank in the Order. At least, up to the year 1761, there never occurred a single instance of anyone having in his hands a *Corpus Institutorum Societatis Jesu*, except the black-clad Fathers themselves; and whatever was known respecting the Jesuit institutions was merely from oral communications, or consisted of mere conjectures.

The astonishment of the world was all the greater, then, when at the termination of the La Vallette trial, as we have seen in the Fourth Book, a copy thereof—the Prague edition of 1757—was, on urgent demand, laid before the Parliament of Paris, and this astonishment rose the higher when the contents of the *Corpus Institutorum* became known. Truly, this production, on the part of the Father-Procureur Montigny, of a copy of their statutes, was the most highly inconsiderate error of judgment which the sons of Loyola ever perpetrated, and they would have given much, later on, had they been able to amend the error of the said pious Father; but the Parliament had this time got the book in its hands, and would at no price give it up again. On the other hand, taking its stand on the contents of the same, it declared all Bulls, letters, and briefs of the Pope referring to the Jesuit Order, as likewise the constitutions of the same, and the explanations thereof, and lastly, the decrees of the Generals and of the General Congregations, as well as, generally, all other enactments of the Chief, as gross abuses, and this on the following grounds:—

In the first place, because the statutes of the Society were in contradiction even as much with the nature of the Church, of the General Councils of the Holy See, and all ecclesiastical jurisdiction, as with that of the secular monarchs and sovereigns, as also of States in general; while the General of the Jesuits, on the strength of the privileges and acts accorded to him, and orders issued, could absolutely set at defiance the resolutions

of the Councils, the Bulls of the Popes, the enactments of the higher ecclesiastics, and the laws of secular governments. Could, indeed, either the ecclesiastical or the secular power have any hold upon an Order to which power is given to alter, abolish, or recal its own constitutions, or to make them entirely new, according to circumstances, without any authority whatever, not even the Holy See itself, having any control of the matter? Secondly, because, according to the constitutions, a single individual, the General, exercised an absolute monarchical power over the whole Society distributed throughout all regions of the world, and over all the individual members of the same, even such as are exempt from control through the offices which they hold; and because this power extended so far—not only, indeed, respecting the management of estates, and as to the right to conclude contracts and to abolish the same again—that all who belong to the Society were bound to this supreme chief, even as to Jesus Christ, blindly to obey, without delay, without exception, without investigation, even without inward doubt, all his orders with as perfect punctuality as if they were the dogmatic laws of the Catholic Faith, and, like a living corpse, to carry them out as tools with no will of their own, and with entire abnegation of all moral perception. Thirdly, because privileges were accorded to the Order of Jesus which directly oppose the rights of rulers and authorities, the rights of bishops and archbishops, clergymen and universities, and, lastly, the rights of all the other ecclesiastical and secular Orders, so that, properly, all parties in the State came under the greatest disadvantage through these Jesuit privileges. Fourthly, because, while otherwise every deed of social contract accords to its several members rights and duties, the members of the Society of Jesus were only assigned duties, and, indeed, duties towards their General alone, to whom they owed implicit obedience, without, on the other hand, possessing any rights. On the contrary, the General had the power to turn out of the Order this or that member of the same, according to his pleasure, and the expelled member had neither the right of appeal against this despotic action, nor even could he ask the reasons for it, or make any claim to a provision for the remainder of his life. Fifthly, and lastly, because every member of the Society of Jesus, according to the belief and to the statutes of belief, was bound to

render implicit slavish obedience to the General, even in the case of its being the pleasure of the latter and his Congregations to decree statutes which stand in open contradiction with the general Christian doctrines of the Church, so that it might be possible for completely heretical doctrine to become Jesuit articles of faith.

On these grounds, to which may be added many others of a subordinate nature, the Parliament of Paris declared the constitutions of the Jesuit Order as through and through offensive, and such as it was impossible to tolerate in any well-ordered State; and as this sentence was promulgated, it may be well imagined what an enormous sensation it caused in the minds of all right-thinking men. This sensation, too, was still vastly more increased when, a few months later, at the beginning of the year 1762, an abridgment of the repulsive principles contained in the *Corpus Institutorum*, appeared in a thick quarto volume,\* and the sentence of condemnation pronounced against the frightful Society of Jesus was the subject of conversation in all cultivated and right-minded circles of human society. Oh! how the sons of Loyola now regretted having laid before the Parliament of Paris their book of constitutions. How quickly they made haste to destroy, by fire, all copies of the same, as far as it was possible to get hold of them; but they soon became convinced, to their most profound grief, that they had been too late with all these measures. It was not merely the books of the constitution of the Order regarding which the world was horrified, but almost still more the doctrinal works prepared by their most distinguished theologians. I mean the books of doctrine respecting Christian morals and moral theology, the principles of which the whole Society of Jesus had hitherto claimed as their own, and for which they must thus now take upon themselves the responsibility. Therein were to be read truly horrible things—calculated, indeed, to make one's hair stand on end! For one could not but see, at the first glance, that here was no question of "Christian morals," but of a more than heathenish prudential doctrine, which even allowed, according to time and circumstances, the commission

\* The title of this book is, *Epitome of the Dangerous and Disgraceful Affirmations which the Jesuits constantly and uninterruptedly taught in their Writings with the Approval of their General.*

of the worst sins. Truly, it could not any longer be denied that such books had been written in part for a hundred years and more, and one now had the opportunity of becoming horrified regarding their contents; but the sons of Loyola stood, at that time, in such extreme estimation that one could hardly dare to withdraw from them the nimbus of holiness, and when thus some few learned men called attention to the general pernicious tendency of the morality therein inculcated—as, for instance, Anton Arnold, in his *Moral Pratique des Jesuites*, written in the year 1643; Blaise Pascal, in his *Lettres Provinciales*, which appeared in 1656; or Nicholas Perrault, in his *Morale des Jesuites, extraite de leur livres*, published in 1669—such attacks had but little result.

The sons of Loyola contrived to take care that all that description of literature should be forbidden by Government, and be burnt by the hand of the hangman; they contrived to take care that the great mass of mankind should be instilled into the firm belief that the writings of an Arnold, a Pascal, or whatever name the opponents of the Jesuits might possess, contained nothing but unjustifiable calumnies. Now, however, as, by the study of the *Corpus Institutorum*, the dangerous tendency of the Order of Jesus was proved, in as far as it affected the whole society of mankind, the Jesuit writings came to be zealously looked into, and in them was now discovered what had previously been held to be quite impossible—a moral doctrine was taught that was purely immoral. Indeed, on this account the Parliament of Paris caused a number of the most prominent Jesuitical writings to be officially investigated, and the result was a unanimous resolution that the moral writings of the Jesuits Emanuel Sa, Martin Anton Delrio, Robert Person, S. Bridgavater, Robert Bellarmin, Ludvig Molina, Alphonso Salmeron, Gregor de Valentia, Clarus Bonarscius, Johann Azor, Jacob Keller, Gabriel Basquez, Johann Lorin, Leonard Less, Francis Tolet, Adam Tanner, Martin Becan, Edmund Pirot, Anton de Escobar, Jacob Tirin, Jacob Gretser, and Hermann Busenbaum, should be torn up and burnt by the public executioner at the foot of the great staircase of the Palace of Parliament, on account of their highly pernicious tendency and their horrible contents, which were entirely subversive of Christian morality.



In order, now, however, to give the reader a more exact idea of what the sons of Loyola taught in their writings and colleges, I will serve up a little specimen of their doctrines. I will not, however, confine myself to the so-called head matadore of the Order, but quote more modern authors, as herein lies the proof that the principles alluded to belong not to an individual merely, but to the whole Society as such, not being altered by the lapse of time. Let us see, first of all, how the sons of Loyola give their judgment as to the crime of unchastity and adultery. "He," says Father Francis Zaver Fegeli (in his *Practical Questions regarding the Functions of Father Confessor*, Augsburg, 1750, p. 284), "who leads astray a young maiden with her own consent, is not guilty of sin, because she is mistress of her own person, and can dispense her favours according as she wishes." Father Escobar affirms precisely the same in his *Moral Theology*, which he caused to be printed at Lyons, in folio, in the year 1655, and also Father Moullet expresses himself in a similar manner in his *Compendium of Morals*. "But," the latter adds, further on, "whoever through force, threats, or cunning causes a girl to leave the path of virtue, without having promised her marriage, is bound to compensate the young maiden and her relatives for all damage which has been occasioned to her, giving her, when he cannot otherwise compensate her, a dowry in order that she may find some one who may marry her if he does not himself espouse her. If, nevertheless, his transgression should remain completely secret, she is not, according to the inward laws of conscience, entitled to any compensation." This Father Moullet further teaches: "If anyone enters into a guilty relationship with a woman, not on account of her being married, but on account of her being beautiful, the sin of adultery is not chargeable in such a case, even although she may be married, but simply that of impropriety." As regards unchastity in general, Father Etienne Bauny expresses himself (in his work *De la Somme des Péchés*, Paris, 1653, p. 77) in the following manner:—

"It is allowable to all descriptions of persons to visit disorderly places in order there to convert sinful women, although it is very probable that one may even one's self fall into sin, as one may but too easily be seduced by the sight and endearments of these women. This, however, is no *stuprum*, but

merely *fornicatio*, as a *stuprum* infers force ; *fornicatio*, on the other hand, depends on mutual consent, and thereby no injury takes place."

Again, according to the views of the Jesuits, in the person of Father Castro Paulo (in his book *De Virtutibus et Vitiis*, 1631, p. 18): "When a domestic sees himself compelled, on account of his livelihood, to serve a dissolute master, it is allowable for him to render assistance to the latter in the most grievous transgressions." Father Corneille de la Pierre gives a somewhat peculiar interpretation, in his *Commentaries on the Prophet Daniel* (Paris, 1622), to the familiar incident as to Susanna, when he puts the following reasoning into the mouth of the latter: "If," says Susanna, "I yield to the wishes of these old men, thus my honour is lost ; if, however, I offer resistance, then is my life at stake. I will not, then, consent to this disgraceful transaction, but I will tolerate it, and say nothing about it, in order to retain at the same time both honour and life." Jacob Tirin, too, agrees entirely with Corneille de la Pierre, and says, in his Biblical Commentary (*Commentarius ad Biblia*, 1668, p. 787): "The chaste Susanna was compelled to yield to the elders, nevertheless without mental consent, and nothing obliged her, to make known her shame by crying out, seeing that her good reputation and life of outward integrity were at stake."

Unanimous, however, as were the Jesuit authors regarding the immoral principles hitherto adduced, it appeared, on the other hand, that on another point, namely, the taking of money for prostitution, some difference of opinion prevailed amongst them. Thus Father J. Gordon, a Scottish Jesuit, writes (*General Moral Theology*, vol. ii. book v.): "A girl of pleasure is justified in receiving payment, only she must not make the price too high. The same holds good in the case of every young maid who pursues her calling secretly. A married woman, however, has not the same right to receive payment, seeing that the gain from prostitution has not been previously stipulated for in the marriage contract." The celebrated Escobar, on the contrary, says: "What a married woman gains by adultery she may look upon as well earned property, only she must allow her husband to participate in her gains." Father Tamburini goes still further than this (*Confession aisée*, from which

I allow myself to quote the following passage): "How dear can a woman sell the pleasure of the enjoyment of her charms? Answer: In order to form a correct judgment one must take into consideration the nobility, beauty, and deportment of the woman, as a respectable woman is of more value than one who opens her door to the first comer. We must distinguish; it depends upon whether the matter concerns a girl of pleasure or a respectable woman. A damsel of easy virtue cannot demand more from one than she has taken from another. She must have a fixed price, and it is a contract between her and her visitor. The latter gives the money, and she her favours, exactly as the host the wine and the guest the drink-money. But a woman of respectability and condition can demand what she pleases, for in matters of this kind, which have no fixed price in general, the person who sells is mistress of her wares. She has thus the right, like an innocent girl, to sell her honour as dearly as she values the same, and no one can, on that account, accuse her of usury."

So much for the Jesuit teaching concerning the transgression of unchastity. Let us now hear what these pious Fathers hold regarding the crime of theft. Father Pierre Aragon (in his *Abrégé de la somme theologique de Saint Thomas d'Aquin*, p. 865), asks: "Is it allowable for anyone to steal in consequence of the straits in which he finds himself? Answer: Yes, this is allowable, let it be either secretly or openly; but only when a man has no other means of meeting his wants. There must also be no question of either oppression or robbery, because, according to the rights of nature, all things are common property, while everyone is obliged to preserve his life." Father Benedict Stattler takes quite the same view, as he expresses himself as follows in his celebrated work *Allgemeine Katholisch-christliche Sittenlehre, oder wahre Glückseligkeitslehre, aus hinreichenden Gründen der Göttlichen Offenbarung und der Philosophie für die obersten Schulen der pfalz-bayrischen Lyceen auf höchsten, Kurfürstlichen Befehl verfasst München*, 1790, in the first volume, p. 427: "When a needy person, on account of sickness or lack of employment, is not in a position to supply his wants by his own work, he has the right to abstract from the rich, by secret or open force, the superfluity of the latter." Anton de Escobar, also, to whom I have already several times alluded, is of the same opinion, only he adds (*Theologica Moral*, Tract v. Exempl. v., No. 120), that the person robbed must

necessarily be a rich man. "Therefore," it is further stated, "when thou findest a thief who has the intention to rob a needy person, thou must restrain him from doing so, and point out to him another rich person whom he may plunder instead of the needy one." Antoine Paul Gabriel goes still more into detail, as he fixes the sum which one may steal at one time at three francs, and in his *Theologie Morale Universelle*, p. 226, he gives the following opinion: "A man may repeat the theft as often and as long as he finds himself in want; also, a person is not at all bound to replace what, from time to time, he has taken, even when the total may amount to a very large sum." Father Longuet teaches nearly the same thing, only in much more general terms, when he says (Question IV., p. 2): "Is a man so poor and another so well-to-do that the latter is bound to assist the former? In this case the destitute person may take the goods of the other without sinning and without being bound to restore them again, only he must do it secretly and not in an open way."

Thus, not only in the case of the greatest need may a man steal, according to Jesuit views, but also when the object is to equalise the great contrast between rich and poor, as, indeed, men were originally created equal and with equal rights! Without this, however, one was justified in "taking" when it was a question of paying one's self, while that the right of secret compensation went for something with the sons of Loyola was to be understood.

"When masters," says J. de Cardenas (*Crisis Theologica*, p. 214), "deduct something from the pay of their servants, the latter can either appeal to justice, or take the law into their own hands and make use of secret compensation." Father Zaver Fegeli (*De Confessore*, p. 137), teaches the same thing; he adds, however, "It is, indeed, allowable to steal, by compensation, from one's master, but under the condition that one does not allow one's self to be caught in the act." Also, according to the information of Jean de Lugo (*De Incarnatione*, p. 408), a man may steal from his debtor, when he has reason to believe that he will not be paid by the same; "Only," adds Valerius Reginald, "one must take the exact compensation, and not steal anything more than that for which one has a claim."

In relation, also, to falsehood and perjury, the sons of Loyola

had very peculiar views, as they plainly expressed themselves to the effect that lying and false swearing were allowable in all cases in which a man's honour, or his property, or his health, might be injured if he spoke the truth. J. de Cardenas says, in the book above referred to: "It is allowable to take an oath, as well in important as in unimportant matters, without having the intention of keeping it, as soon as one has good grounds for so acting." "To make use of words of double meaning and to falsely deceive the judge, is allowable in certain cases," as Father Castropalos writes (tom. iii. of his work, Tract 14), "when one can only find a worthy excuse in concealing the truth. For instance, dissimulation might be necessary, in order not to pronounce sentence of death against one's self, where instant destruction is in question; thus canst thou deny the truth and take refuge in dissimulation in such a case without being guilty of the least transgression. It is, indeed, allowable in such instances to take an oath of equivocation, as every man has a right to preserve his life by any means in his power. . . . To this view of mine our most learned theologians agree." Castropalos then adds, after some further discussion, "and for this I refer to the works of Navarra, Tolet, Suarez, Valencia, and Lessius." Sanchez and Bonacinus also teach the same thing, and the latter says: "Interrogated as to a crime committed, it is not at all incumbent on you to confess, as long as you can find for your advantage any tolerable excuse. And when judicially interrogated, or when a great and important injury would accrue to you from a confession of your misdeed, you may boldly affirm that you have not committed it; only you must so form your words that you may afterwards be able to explain them according as you wish. Are you then asked as to your accomplice? You are not bound to make any declaration of the truth, rather you may be silent about the matter, or, still better, answer in such words that the true meaning remains concealed." Thus writes the learned Castropalos, and the greatly admired Father Filliutius expresses himself in a precisely similar way in his great work on theology (vol. x., Treatise 25, chap. 12). He writes: "One asks whether it is allowable at times to take an equivocating oath, a secret mental reservation being kept concealed. I answer, Yes, only the chief thing is that the answer must be so framed according to the

question, that afterwards another interpretation may be given to it, if it be found necessary, and difficulty be not occasioned by so doing."

The sons of Loyola showed themselves not less tolerant regarding other transactions branded as sinful by moralists at large. Thus, for instance, the Jesuit Tolet expresses himself in relation to a small commercial fraud as follows (in his book on the *Seven Mortal Sins*, p. 1027): "When one cannot sell his wine at the price he considers it to be worth, because it is considered to be too dear, he can give smaller measure and mix with it a small quantity of water, in such a way, of course, that everyone believes he has the full measure, and that the wine is pure and unadulterated."

In relation to bribery, Father Taberna says (in his *Sketch of Practical Theology*, which appeared in the year 1736): "It is asked whether a judge is bound to repay what a party has given to him, in order that he might record a decision in his favour. I answer that he must restore what he has received if he obtained it in order that he might pronounce a righteous and proper judgment; should he, however, have acquired the money or valuables in order to propound an unrighteous sentence, he can retain the property, as he has deserved it." Respecting another kind of bribe, Benedict Stattler expresses himself in the following words (vol. i. of his *Moral Ethics*, p. 460): "When, on account of the selfishness and factionousness of the higher authorities, there is no way left open to our obtaining public offices by our own merit and our own worth, it is not only allowable, but, indeed, serviceable, from the motive of the love of God and of our neighbour, to obtain by presents or flattery the favour of those who have it in their power to bestow these offices."

The getting rid of an immature child is likewise considered to be allowable by the sons of Loyola, at least in certain cases, which, however, are of a very flexible character, and Father Airaut writes regarding this (*Proposition sur le Cinquième Précepté du Decalogue*, p. 322): "One asks whether a woman may make use of means to obtain abortion. I answer, Yes, if quickening has not taken place, and the pregnancy is not dangerous. But even if there has been quickening already, it may be effected as soon as a conviction is arrived at that she must

die by the birth. Under all circumstances, however, a young person who has been led astray may do so, as her honour must be to her more precious than the life of the child."

Assuredly very peculiar morality! More peculiar still, however, is the manner in which Father Gobat expresses himself in his *Ceuvres Morales* (tome ii., p. 228), regarding crime committed during drunkenness, and even in the case of parricide. After coming to the most sophistical and fallacious conclusion that a drunkard cannot be made responsible for his actions, he concludes as follows: "A son who has become intoxicated, and in this state has killed his father, is not merely no criminal, but he may rejoice, indeed, at the circumstances of the murder which he has committed, if, that is, a great fortune which he inherits is in question, as large riches belong in every way to those things much to be desired, especially when one understands how to make good use of them."

Lastly, I may be allowed to say something regarding the highly wonderful precept which the Jesuits inculcate in respect to the right of self-defence, since neither before nor after them was ever a similar theory advanced. The sons of Loyola maintain that one is fully entitled to make use of the sharpest "reprisals against anyone by whom one may have been insulted, and not merely by means of judicial complaint, but by retaliation, and, before everything, by detraction and calumny, to deprive such person of his honour and good repute. In regard to the latter (detraction of honour and calumny), one may be certain," says Tamburin in his *Decalogus* (lib. ix. cap. ii. § 2), "that a number of people will soon be found who will swear to the calumny, as, naturally, men have much desire for wickedness, and thus the person insulting always falls into greater disgrace, until at length every one points a finger at him." Herrmann Busenbaum expresses himself somewhat more circumspectly (*Christian Theology*, book iii. part vi. chap. i.) when he writes: "In the case of anyone unjustifiably making an attack on your honour, when you cannot otherwise defend yourself than by impeaching the integrity of the person insulting you, it is quite allowable to do so. You must, however, tell the truth, and not carry the thing further than is required for the maintenance of your own reputation, while no greater insult must be inflicted on the person than has befallen yourself, an exact comparison being

made between your own worth and that of your insulter." Leonard Lessius expresses himself far more freely (lib. ii. *De Anst.* cap. 2), as he teaches thus: "Has anyone made an attack on your honour, you may then at once make use of retaliation, and you have thereby nothing else to observe than to keep up a comparison as much as possible." The language of Benedict Stattler is, however, the most severe, and at the same time the most clear, when he makes use of the following words: "It is still more allowable in this case (namely, when one is injured ignominiously) to bring the calumniator to universal notice by a disclosure of his secret transgressions or crimes, by which means people may change their opinion as to his injurious imputations. Also to attribute a false crime to the calumniator is allowable for such an object, if this should be the only sufficient, indispensable, or even serviceable means to deprive him of all belief and credit for his calumniation."

A practical moral, will the reader say, a moral which bids defiance to all divine, civil, and political laws; as what would become of order in a State where everyone was allowed to be judge in his own affairs and executor of his own sentence—when every one, instead of preserving love in his heart, as Christ hath ordained, thinks always merely of revenge, and requites injustice by still worse deeds?

Although this kind of morality must, indeed, be termed as partly insane, the sons of Loyola were by no means satisfied with the same, but went considerably further, and affirmed that it was allowable to take the life of the calumniator in the event of its not being possible to save one's honour in any other way. Thus Father Airaut, already previously referred to, says: "In order to cut short calumny most quickly, one may cause the death of the calumniator, but as secretly as possible to avoid observation." The Jesuit Herreau, too, dictated the following principle to his pupils at the college in Paris in the year 1641: "If anyone, by a false accusation, should calumniate me to a prince, judge, or other man of honour, and I can maintain my good name in no other way than by assassinating him secretly, I should be justified in doing so. Moreover, I should be also justified had the crime of which I was accused been actually committed by me, though concealed under the veil of secrecy in such a way that it would not be easy to discover



it through a judicial investigation." Escobar, likewise, in his *Moral Theology*, published in the year 1655, teaches the like thereto: "That it is absolutely allowable to kill a man whenever the general welfare or proper security demands it"; and Hermann Busenbaum elucidates this doctrine still further: "that, in order to defend his life, preserve his limbs entire, or save his honour, a son may even murder his father, a monk his abbot, and a subject his prince." Father Francis Lamy enters more into specialities when he says, in vol. v. of his work (Disp. 36, Num. 148): "It cannot be denied that ecclesiastics and members of monkish Orders are compelled on this account to maintain their honour and consideration, which are inseparable from their virtuous life as well as their scientific culture. These cause them to be respected in the eyes of the laity, and if, then, one of them loses the same, he can neither be any longer useful nor deliver spiritual counsel. On that account, is it not an established truth that ecclesiastics must save their honour and consideration at any price, even at that of the life of the persons insulting them? Yes, they are indeed forced to remove their calumniator, when by this means alone they can make themselves secure; and this is especially the case when the loss of their honour would tend to the disgrace of the whole Order." Father Henriques teaches exactly the same doctrine in his *Summa Theologiæ Moralis* (Venet. 1600), only in more precise words. "If an ecclesiastic," it is said therein, "caught in adultery by the husband of a woman with whom he has a love affair, kills the man in order to defend his own life and honour, he is not only quite justified in doing so, but he is, on that account, not incapacitated from continuing the exercise of his ecclesiastical functions." The precepts laid down by the famous Sanchez are even still more stringent, as he coolly asserts that it is allowable to murder everyone who advances an unjust accusation or bears false evidence against us, as soon as we are assured that a great injury will thereby be occasioned to us. "Such acts cannot be properly designated as murders, but merely allowable defences; nevertheless, before perpetrating the deed, one must have a certain conviction as to the offence of the enemy." But Benedict Stattler, so frequently before quoted, expresses himself most clearly of all when he intimates as follows (vol. i. of his *Moral Philosophy*, p. 337): "A real

injury, bringing disgrace on one, as, for instance, a horsewhipping or blow on the face, may be retaliated by the murder of the insulter, if it cannot be remedied in any other manner; still Christian love counsels forbearance from this mode of defence, as long as such conduct does not occasion a heavy misfortune to us and to others connected with us. Other grievous offences, especially calumniation, need not certainly be obviated in general by the murder of the offender, but it is very allowable in the following cases:—1. When there appears to be a certainty of the false calumniator finding credence among men. 2. If he cuts off from us thereby all means of saving our honour. 3. If we can remove, by the murder of the enemy, the danger of our suffering shame."

Such and similar doctrines did the sons of Loyola advance in their works on moral theology; and now, O reader, ask thyself, has not mankind just reason to be mortally alarmed on this account? Yes, indeed, it cannot be filled with any common horror when it considers that the youth of Europe, which for the most part was entrusted to the Jesuits for instruction, should have been indoctrinated with such horrible principles? Moreover, is it not clearly apparent in practice what frightful consequences such a Jesuitical system of doctrine brings in its train? Did not, for instance, Parson Riembauer adduce Stattler's *Christian Moral Philosophy* as his justification when he murdered Anna Eichstätter in cold blood because she threatened to make certain revelations about him? And are there not many such Riembauers, no doubt, in secret, who declare that murder is allowable when one's honour and good repute are in danger, only with this difference, that they know better how to keep their murders veiled and concealed? A horrible thought for every father, if he reflects on the welfare of his son committed to the care of the Jesuits; must it not indeed, cause him to shudder?

But not merely on this account did a general cry of displeasure arise against committing the youth of Germany into the hands of the sons of Loyola, but also by reason of its having been discovered, on more accurate investigation, how little of an actually scientific education was imparted by the so highly vaunted Fathers, and how perverted,<sup>1</sup> defective, and generally injurious was their whole method.

In this respect the celebrated historian Spittler, who hit the nail on the head with fewest words, says :

“They sought to appropriate to themselves all the education of the people and the students, and for a certain time they succeeded in this ; but they taught the sciences with the abstraction of the noblest portions therefrom, that is to say, of all that might enlighten the understanding, and raise and ennoble the sentiments of the heart—all that might have the effect in any way of laying bare the objects of the Papacy and of Jesuitism. They did not, indeed, promote anything like good taste by their instructions, and Jesuit Latin has everywhere become proverbial.”

In fact, the scholars in their gymnasiums were plagued during nine years or more with grammatical rules, without ever obtaining any fundamental knowledge of the Greek and Latin languages, and with the spirit of the authors in those languages they never became acquainted, as the sons of Loyola thoroughly emasculated the works before giving them to their pupils to read. On the other hand, the latter were brought up to have a great readiness and dexterity in speaking the Latin language, seeing that it was, in the 17th and 18th centuries, the general tongue of diplomatists and ministers. Moreover, they exercised the young at an early age in the art of disputation and public speaking, in order that they might in later years be able to excel as sophistical debaters, and thereby never be discomfited in this respect.

This art, which was also called dialectics, gave them a semblance of knowledge and culture which blinded the multitude ; and what more could be desired when this result could be accomplished ? As for the acquirement of a knowledge of other languages than Latin and Greek, but little or nothing at all was effected in the whole of their colleges, and even the vernacular of the country was totally neglected. Indeed, the native language of the country was, up to the beginning of the 18th century, completely excluded from the subjects taught, and in Germany many Portuguese were employed as teachers and professors in their institutions, while in Portugal Italian, in Spain German, and in Italy Spanish Jesuits were made use of.

In the year 1703 the General Congregation of the Society certainly resolved that in future the language of the country

should be taken into account; but the instruction imparted still remained but miserable, and in the German Jesuit schools, for instance, according to a report of the Bavarian Government in the year 1770, which entered very fully into the matter in question, the German pupils forgot their German much more than they learned it. And why not? Jesuit pupils were not intended to be brought up as good citizens of the State in which they were born, or as excellent and independent members of the nation to which they owed allegiance, but rather as merely friends of the Order of Jesus, whose welfare alone they had to further completely and entirely without regard to nationality. They should henceforth, if they formally entered into the Order, have no other interest whatever than that of the Society. If they did not join the fraternity, however, but on the completion of their education enrolled themselves in the service of the State, or found some other occupation, they had become so devoid of any national or patriotic feeling, that the weal of the Order lay more at their heart than that of the State to which they belonged. Equally indifferent and feelingless were they to become towards their own family, their relatives, and their home, and another love was instilled into them—that for the Society of Jesus, which was to be considered by them now as the sole protector of the welfare of mankind.

Such was the end and object of Jesuit teaching, and in this, to a great extent, they were successful, that is, in the art of estranging the youth from their paternal home and love of country, of detaching their minds from the direction to which they should have been naturally inclined, and of inoculating them with adherence to their spiritual Father and their Romish fatherland; so that, on this account, they never quitted the schools of the sons of Loyola as good, obedient sons, never as truly devoted citizens upon whom the country and its ruler could depend.

Such was the view which, on more minute examination of the subject, came to be entertained of the Jesuitical instruction of youth; and, I would ask, was not the universal cry of indignation which now began to be raised, at least among the cultivated, against the pious Fathers, completely justified?

## CHAPTER III.

INCREASING ENLIGHTENMENT, AND THE STORM WHICH  
AROSE OUT OF THEIR OWN MIDST.

A THIRD epoch now set in, contributing to display the sons of Loyola in their nakedness, showing, that is, what they really were, and I designate this as the period of increasing enlightenment in connection with the storm which broke over the Jesuits out of their own midst.

Much evil had been brought about in France, Germany, and Spain, and, indeed, the whole of Europe, by the rule of King Louis XIV.; but, on the other hand, an immeasurable advantage to mankind was also occasioned thereby, namely, this, that it raised up writers, who not only opposed the tendency to superstition and darkness, by the light of their genius, which persistently revealed the errors of the time, but also wrote in such a way that, and in a language by which, the great masses of the public might be enabled to devour these works. Hitherto Latin had been the sole language of the learned, all literary discussions between men of science having been entirely carried on in that language. Although, in this way, much had been done after the invention of the art of printing, in regard to re-awakening spiritual liberty, it did not penetrate to the common people, because they were ignorant of the Latin language. If any result was to be obtained, it was necessary to speak to the populace in a language with which they were familiar, and also, at the same time, in such a manner as would impart some interest and plea-

sure. What benefit could the great masses derive from learned trash? The indolent allowed it to remain unnoticed, or sleepily yawned over it.

The most profound spiritual darkness, then, reigned in Europe, even after the re-awakening of the sciences there, and even after the grand working of the Reformation, weighing down the nations like a fearful incubus, and no ray of sunlight showed itself which could penetrate this eternal darkness, except here and there, during the 17th century. The sons of Loyola, who mostly contributed to the maintenance of this profound darkness, internally rejoiced, and hoped that daylight might never show itself. Their wish, however, was in vain, for even when they had attained their highest degree of power, there sprang into life throughout France, *in consequence of the great religious and political feuds which, under Louis XIV., shook the world*, quite a new literature, of which no one before had any conception, and, which was destined entirely to shake the faith of the people as to the sanctity of the Society of Jesus. I allude to the dramatic poetry which at that time emancipated itself from classical antiquity, and began, at least in comedy, to place itself on its own proper footing.

He who had the merit of introducing this new kind of literature was Jean Baptiste Poquelin, called de Molière, and from him, the master pattern and type of all existing writers of comedy, the sons of Loyola received a shock which injured them more in the eyes of the masses than all the attacks of their most learned opponents. Molière, attached by inclination to the theatre from his early youth, in 1642, at the age of two-and-twenty, joined a troop of play-actors who, at that time, gave representations in the suburbs of Paris, and then, during sixteen long years, ran through with them the provinces of France, erecting the temple of Thalia, now in this town, now in that, for a couple of months or more. There was a want, however, of suitable pieces for this troop, as the public had no great inclination for the usual highly-tragical classical tragedies of those days, and one of this description, *La Thébïade*, written by himself, did not please any better in the least. There then occurred to him the happy thought of writing comedy instead of tragedy, and his very first attempt, the *Etourdi*, which appeared in the year 1658, at once took with the masses.

He treated therein subjects from life, and the people were compelled to laugh whether they would or not. One comedy now followed after another, in each of them some defective condition of the day being exposed to the ridicule of the public, at one time some peculiar disposition, at another some arrogance of this or that class of the people. Was there any wonder, then, that the name of Molière should soon resound throughout the whole of France? Was it to be marvelled at that he transferred himself, with his troop, to Paris, after the year 1658, and there likewise gained immense applause? Was it cause for astonishment that the art-loving Louis XIV., who at that time was gushing over with the love of pleasure, took him and his company into his special service, under the title of the "royal troop," in order to make the brilliant Court festivities still more glorious? Molière was now, for the first time, in his right place; henceforth, the classics, that is, Plautus and Terence, were thrown completely overboard by him, in order to bring on the stage the sayings and doings of actual present life, and to put in the pillory vice and folly wherever he found them.

There appeared now, one after another, *l'Ecole des Femmes*, *l'Ecole des Hommes*, *Le Misanthrope*, along with other pieces; and as the great King highly applauded the same with his own hands, the author of these was armed against all persecution, although, indeed, many persons of high standing and position who had met with castigation from him entertained very great hatred against him. He had not, however, as yet ventured to touch upon the hypocritical devotion of the sons of Loyola, who in those days had acquired greatly increasing power in France, and it thus seemed madness to set them at defiance. But his genius carried him away, and in the year 1664 there appeared his *Tartuffe*, the most biting of all satires which had ever been made upon the black cohort. It was, indeed, incomparably daring to wish to hold up the Jesuits to the laughter of the world, and Molière, consequently, soon experienced what it was to enter the battle-field against such an army of warriors. The pious Fathers, as soon as they got certain information of the existence of the piece, contrived to get it prohibited by their machinations, and it remained forbidden, in spite of all the efforts of the poet, during five years. At

length, King Louis gave ear to the representations of Molière, that his *Tartuffe* was not directed against the Society of Jesus as a body, but merely ridiculed the hypocritical and pharisaical among them; rather, perhaps, the monarch could no longer restrain his curiosity to witness the performance of the *Tartuffe*, and peremptorily ordered that it should be allowed to be brought on the stage.

What a grand result, however, crowned its production! The half of Paris, and, afterwards, the whole of France, clapped their hands in applauding until they were sore, and all people of cultivation went almost beyond themselves with delight and enthusiasm in admiration of this inimitable work. The piece was required to be repeated dozens of times, and it was represented in all the theatres of the provinces, being even taken up abroad and translated into almost all the living languages of Europe. The Jesuits were pointed at with scorn whenever they ventured to make themselves at all conspicuous, and, moreover, the work-people in the towns, those, therefore, who constituted the middle class, were also infected with the spirit of enlightenment. But what of the sons of Loyola? They revenged themselves by condemning from the pulpits of their churches the divine poet, although still living, to eternal hell fire, and, when he died in February 1678, they worked upon the Archbishop of Paris in order that he should deny an honourable burial to his remains. King Louis, however, who had known how to esteem his favourite during his lifetime, once again interfered, and, by his order, Molière obtained a resting-place in the churchyard of St. Joseph. True, it was but a very quiet, modest place, but honourable, nevertheless, and inaccessible to the revenge of the Jesuits; he thus fared better than thousands of others who had drawn down upon themselves the wrath of the sons of Loyola.

After Molière, many now strove to follow in his footsteps, working in his spirit, manner and mode of speech; the ice was now broken, and the wheel of progress could not again be rolled backwards. I may be excused for refraining from mentioning the names of these men—the reader may make himself acquainted with them in the history of literature—and I simply affirm that enlightenment, in a few decades, made most gigantic progress, especially among the town populations of France, since the



first production of the *Tartuffe*. It would be, however, a great sin not to make at least one single exception in favour of that author who contributed at least as much to the overthrow of Jesuitism as the whole hundred years of Jansenist strife; I allude to the author, François Marie Arouet de Voltaire. Born in the year 1694, he obtained his first education in the Jesuit College of "Louis le Grand"; after which he devoted himself to the study of law, only, however, for a short time, as he was unable to acquire any taste for the same; finally, at the age of twenty, encouraged by literary men who were impressed by his marvellous mental endowments, he ventured upon the field of poetry, and as the tragedy of *Oedipe*, with which he made a commencement, met with great applause, he now firmly resolved to devote his time entirely to literary pursuits. He kept loyally to this purpose, and during the whole of his long life—he died in 1778—one work after another saw the light, as the flight of his imagination never flagged, the energy of his activity never halted. Still it was not only with poetry that he occupied himself, nor merely poems, tragedy, and comedy, which he edited in abundance; he laboured much more extensively in the field of history, as well as in discussing the questions of the day, and his writings exercised such an enormous power over men's minds, that he became the ruling spirit of his nation on all religious, political, and social questions. Yet it was more by the thunderbolts which he launched forth against fanaticism, superstition, and hypocrisy, that he raised himself to be the chief representative of all French philosophers, and he was, indeed, looked upon as the prime mover of the entire mental tendency of Europe. Was such a man, however, only intended to write simply and solely for those of high position and cultivation? No; he composed for the whole of the world who could read, while kings and their ministers could not do otherwise than devote attention to his works; still more was he the favourite author of the female world. And, as to the bourgeoisie, they actually devoured him, and whoever had not read the *Henriade*, the *Pucelle*, the *Zadig*, or the *Candide*, was looked upon as a complete barbarian. There was one class of people, however, who read him, indeed, but with fury, and who would gladly have poisoned him for every word he had written; there was one set of individuals of this

description, but they constituted a very widely distributed and, hitherto, almost all-powerful body. I allude to the ordained clergy, among whom, again, the black cohort of Jesuits ranged themselves in the foremost rank. They hated him most mortally, and rightfully so, seeing that he also detested them, and, indeed, if possible, still more bitterly than they disliked him, and persecuted them with his wit, his satire, his contumely and contempt, in such a keen cutting way, and with such immense results, that he thereby brought about a complete revolution in the mental tendency of a very large number of the living community of the time. It may be that in our days a good many object to his writings, especially his historical, philosophical, and critical works; it may be that he may be accused, with more or less reason, of want of solidity, and, on the other hand, with superfluity of frivolity: in spite of all this, he still stands forth as the man the most highly endowed mentally of his age; none the less he was the rock upon which was shattered the authority of the hitherto adored Church in religious matters, as well as, to some extent, political and social questions.

I trust, with this little that I have said about Molière and Voltaire, to have sufficiently demonstrated how immensely the increasing enlightenment, resulting therefrom, contributed in displaying the sons of Loyola in their true light, in beautiful contrast to that in which they had hitherto represented themselves. Not the less did it also conduce to the circumstance that now some individual members of the Society itself, whether with closed or open vizard, dared to come forward with certain revelations, by which the Society of Jesus was stripped of the garment of sanctity in which it had hitherto been clothed, as well, also, of most of its hitherto usurped privileges. Some few individuals, indeed, had the boldness to burst the bonds which had hitherto restrained them, and, ensuring their safety by taking flight to Protestant lands, initiated the astonished world into the hidden secrets of the Society. When I say "some few individuals," I beg that I may not be misunderstood. I am fully aware, and it is otherwise sufficiently well known, that the number of those who, in the course of time, retired from the Jesuit Order and returned again to the world, could not be called a few; but such were either lay brethren, or intended

novices, coadjutors, and scholastics. In other words, they were merely such as were called, and, indeed, actually belonged to the Society of Jesus, but had not in any way taken upon themselves the fourth vow and become enrolled among the professed members. They also by no means possessed a complete knowledge of the nature of Jesuitism; they were not cognizant of its most intimate organisation, with which only the adepts were entrusted, and consequently could not let out many of the secrets. Accordingly they are not comprehended among the "few individuals," and even less do these latter include those who, on account of being useless, or from some cause or other, had been expelled out of the Society, just as unsound limbs must be amputated; it was known that such could do no injury to the Society. The "few individuals," of whom I spoke, belonged, on the other hand, to the professed rank; they formed part of the most advanced amongst the consecrated members of the Society; they were of the number of those who were put in the foremost rank, and who, in consequence of long trial, had established a right to be promoted; of those who, being animated by true Jesuitical sentiments, had been considered as worthy of taking upon themselves the fourth vow. Of such as those very, very few quitted the Order, and this lay in the nature of things—so much so, indeed, that it was to be wondered at that such a case should ever occur. It did, however, occur, and, indeed, more than once, as I shall now, by examples, show.

In the year 1648 there appeared a pulpit orator in the Protestant Church of Leyden in Holland, who vehemently thundered against the sons of Loyola, and at the same time a little book, in the French language, came out, having for its title *The Jesuits on the Scaffold, owing to the High Crimes perpetrated by them in the Province of Guyenne*. The pulpit orator and author of the book were one and the same person, namely, Peter Jarrige, formerly a Jesuit, and a professed one of the four vows, who had done service for some considerable time as teacher, preacher, and Confessor, and also as Rector of the College in Bordeaux, as well as in other towns of the province of Guyenne, where the Society of Jesus possessed a College. Born in the year 1605, and falling very early into the hands of the Jesuits, he was brought up by them, and, on account of his superior talents, seduced into joining the Order; he advanced then quickly from grade to

grade, and was very soon considered worthy to be received among the number of those initiated into the fourth vow. In spite of all this Jesuitical education, the better feelings of his heart were still not extinguished, and, when he was advanced to be among the professed, he now became acquainted with the frightful wickedness of the Order of Jesus—a wickedness which must have appeared to him in a still more glaring light, seeing that, at the same time, he became intimate with the writings of the Reformers, and their plain Bible faith. The resolution was now matured in him to quit a society, the leaders of which united in themselves the attributes of the tiger, the wolf, and the fox, and to league himself with Protestantism. He caused himself, therefore, on some plausible pretext or other, to be transferred to his paternal town of La Rochelle, where, on the 25th December 1647, he secretly lay his new confession of faith before the Calvinistic Consistorium, and then hastily took flight to Holland, under the protection of the Calvinists, in order to escape from the cellars in which the Society of Jesus was accustomed to smother the cry of its disobedient and unfaithful sons. His flight caused a great sensation, and still more so his book *The Jesuits on the Scaffold*. In the twelve chapters of this work he treats of the whole of the doings and sayings of the sons of Loyola, exactly as they have been brought to the acquaintance of the reader in the Third, Fourth, and Fifth Books of this work, establishes by proofs everything that he alleges against them, and, although most limited as to what he had seen, heard, or experienced concerning them (and, *nota bene*, I repeat that he had never been out of the province of Guyenne, and thus could scarcely become acquainted with the hundredth part of the Jesuit territory), he so completely removes from them the comedy-mask of sanctity, that they are presented to the eyes of the world as thoroughly exposed miscreants. No wonder, then, that the world should have been overtaken with astonishment at these disclosures; no wonder, also, that the sons of Loyola should have been seized with the greatest rage. Such a thing had never been witnessed since the world had existed—a Jesuit to become the betrayer of his fellow Jesuits, one of the initiated of the Society to put the whole of the Society in the pillory, and drag it before the high court of judicature of Europe! Verily, poor Jarrige would have been torn to

pieces if his former associates had been able to get him for a moment into their clutches ; as it was, however, they had to be contented with his effigy, which they burnt in the court of their college at La Rochelle. They were not, indeed, satisfied with this merely, but one of them named Jacob Beaufés was at once appointed to controvert the work of Jarrige. He, therefore, set about the matter immediately, and his book made its appearance in a few weeks, but what was the nature of its contents ? From beginning to end it was merely a torrent of insulting abuse.

" Father Jarrige," he writes, " is a contemptible scoundrel, a shameful calumniator, liar, and renegade, who merits no belief. He has himself committed all the crimes of which he charges his fellow brethren, and if he had not deserted from the Order he would have been expelled from it in disgrace. Moreover, the spirit of revenge predominates throughout his book, as he was furious at not being promoted to a superior preferment—to a preferment which, by his vulgarity and almost brutal stupidity, he possessed no capability of filling."

In this fashion Beaufés refuted his former associate, and thereply to this was therefore easy. " Had I," rejoined Jarrige, " been such a reprobate as Beaufés affirms, why, then, did the Society of Jesus tolerate me among them during five-and-twenty years ? Why did they make me a professed member of the four vows, and entrusted me with offices of preaching and teaching ? Besides, there is no question as to my person, but as to the crimes of which I have made a report, to the facts of which I was the eye and ear witness. Why has he not, then, refuted these ? "

This rejoinder of Jarrige's naturally produced another pamphlet of Father Beaufés in reply, and as other Fathers now came to his assistance, the Dutch Reformers, as friends of Jarrige, did not on their part remain silent. The battle thus became more and more extended, and it caused much enjoyment to the scandal-loving world, when all at once an order emanated from the General in Rome, which prescribed quite a different mode of proceeding. " It was not by heaping insults on Jarrige that the Society of Jesus could be washed clean," wrote the General, " but this was only possible by winning the ex-Jesuit back again into the Order, and obliging him then to make a public recantation."

The sons of Loyola consequently desisted from all further controversy, just as if their mouths had been frozen up, and, on the other hand, Father Ponthélier, a Jesuit distinguished by his adroitness and worldly wisdom, accompanied by others placed at his disposal by the College, betook himself in all secrecy, well disguised, to Leyden, where Jarrige still remained. There the two met. Thus much has been ascertained, and equally correct is it that they had long interviews together; but from this point reports differ, or rather, there are two varying statements, which give a completely opposite account of what became of Jarrige afterwards. The one, namely, that of the Jesuits, represented mainly by the partial historian Etienne Baluze, acquaints the world that Ponthélier's eloquence had such a powerful effect on the apostate Father that he testified deep repentance, and came to the resolution of giving full satisfaction to the gravely-insulted Society. He thereupon instantly took his departure, along with his converter, to Antwerp, where the sons of Loyola possessed a college, and thence addressed himself to the General, Francis Piccolomini at Rome, in order to obtain permission to return into the Order free of punishment. The General had, indeed, actually promised, in answer to this petition, a written general pardon, to which was conjoined a letter of security from the Pope; and upon this Jarrige was so much affected that he immediately handed over to be printed a recantation of the calumnies he had advanced against the sons of Loyola. After the completion of this propitiatory transaction, however, he was transferred from Antwerp into the profess-house at Tulle in France, and lived there up to the year 1670, highly esteemed and honoured by all his brethren and fellows. Thus it is related by the Jesuits, and, as a proof of the truth of their statement, they refer to Jarrige's recantation, which, in fact, was actually in existence, and was issued from the house of the Jesuits in Antwerp in the year 1651. But other people—and this is the second statement of which I have above spoken—affirm that the said recantation was a pure fabrication of the sons of Loyola, seeing that they had not anything whatever to do with Jarrige, and could not have had anything to do with him, since he was no longer alive in the year 1651. He had, indeed, suddenly disappeared from Leyden, shortly after the advent of Ponthélier there, but had never afterwards been seen

by anyone soever. Nor did all researches, officially instituted, with the view of clearing up the matter, have the least result, as Ponthélier also vanished at the same time as his associate, and did not leave behind the least trace of what had become of him. Without a doubt, here, also, there is some crime in question, namely, either the sin of murder, or that of forcible abduction, and if it was the latter, the probability is that Jarrige had been ironed by Ponthélier and his associates, and carried off bound in the night-time, in order to be allowed to rot in some Jesuit prison. So do the non-Jesuits affirm, and almost the whole enlightened world also go with them as to this. What opinion, then, the reader will be inclined to take, I leave himself to determine.

A still more extraordinary sensation than that caused by *The Jesuits on the Scaffold*, was occasioned by a work which appeared about the same time, which had for its title *Lucii Cornelii Europæi Monarchia Solipsorum* (The Monarchy of Solipsen described by Lucius Cornelius Europæus), and, as may be at once recognised, this was nothing else than a complete *exposé* of the true nature of the Jesuit Order, as by the word "Solipsen," which means "people who wish to govern entirely," is simply and solely to be understood the sons of Loyola. The author of this very remarkable book commences the same by describing to us in glowing words the extraordinary magnitude, extension, and boundless power possessed by the ruler of the monarchy of Solipsen. "So boundless," says he, "is this power that whatever the monarch orders to be done, let his commands, indeed, be even contrary to reason, justice, and morality, and opposed to all divine and human laws, they must be blindly obeyed by his subjects without the least consideration." Thereupon the author conducts us into the capital of the monarchy of Solipsen, that is, into Rome, showing us the many beautiful houses, like palaces, which belong to the Solipsen, making us at once acquainted with the truly royal splendour in which the ruler of the monarchy, the despotic Avidius Cluvius, as he calls him (meaning the General of the Order, Claudius Aquaviva), is accustomed to live. "He, the proud man who imitates the rest of the sovereigns of west and east, allows no one to approach him, not even his ministers, without humbly kissing his hand." From the palaces we are then conducted into

the colleges of the Solipsen, and in this direction the author of the *Monarchy* teaches us that the said educational institutions are proclaimed by the Solipsen to be the first and most perfect in the world. One must not, however, allow oneself to be deceived by external appearances, upon which all depends, but look thoroughly into the matter, and then one will certainly discover that the pupils are brought to obtain great proficiency neither in languages, philosophy, nor theology. And it is equally bad, he goes on to say, as regards the appointment to the higher offices in the state of Solipsen, as the very worst members are advanced to the most important situations. Also, the whole government consists in a system of the most perfect espionage, and he states that the number of informers is something truly enormous. Whoever distinguishes himself conspicuously in this department may assuredly reckon on advancement, even when he may have been guilty of theft, robbery, or any other kind of crime. In the kingdom of Solipsen, there reigns an entirely different description of moral law from what obtains among the rest of mankind, some things being more or less looked upon as virtuous which are scouted to the uttermost according to Christian doctrine. In short, the author of the *Monarchy of the Solipsen* draws such a true and complete picture of the Society of Jesus, and gives the reader so deep an insight into the secrets of the Order, that, when the book first made its appearance, everyone was on the *qui vive* as to whom the author of the same might be. This much seems certain, that the name Lucius Cornelius Europæus was entirely fictitious, and not the less unquestionable was it that the writer must be a veritable Jesuit, as only a true member of the Order, and one, indeed, of superior position, could have produced the book, as a subordinate brother could have no knowledge of such facts as this work lays before the public with such extraordinary minuteness. The Society of Jesus must, then, necessarily have a traitor in their midst; but the question was, who could this black sheep be?

With angry eagerness the sons of Loyola sought after him, and the first upon whom suspicion fell was Melchior Inkhofer, Professor of the German College in Rome. Fortunately for him, however, he was able to clear himself, and thus escaped from the frightful punishment which had already been prepared for him. Later on, from certain indications, it was concluded that Father



Julius Clement Scotti, a Venetian Jesuit, had perpetrated the foul deed, and the circumstance that the book first saw the light in the year 1645, in a Venetian printing office, appeared to give confirmation to this view; but no one could discover this for certain, because Scotti, at the time that suspicion fell upon him, was already dead, and the printer could by no means be induced to make a positive declaration about the matter. Be this, however, as it may, this much is certain, that the little work caused the greatest sensation, and, on that account, it was not only thereafter frequently reprinted, but was also translated into almost every European language. It displayed the Jesuits in their true character, and, on that account, everyone had an interest in reading it. It was only a pity that its language could not be properly understood by the common people, and, therefore, that its efficacy was almost simply and solely restricted to the intellectual and learned.

In such and similar ways did the cloud, in which the sons of Loyola shrouded their society, by degrees disappear; and the best proof of how the perniciousness of the Order had been recognised by enlightened minds in the middle of the 18th century, lies in the appearance at Naples, at that time, of the little work *Monita ad Principes*. In this "advice to princes," rulers were admonished to abolish the whole of the monkish Orders, and, above all of them, the Society of Jesus; and generally to break off with Rome, to separate Church from State, and to deprive religion, or, as may be better said, Priestcraft, of the influence which it had hitherto maintained over politics and governments.

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# BOOK VI.

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THE BENEVOLENCE OF THE JESUITS,

OR,

THE PERMISSION TO MURDER AND ASSASSINATE.

## MOTTO :

Hieher, ihr Herren und Obrigkeit,  
Hieher beruft euch die Wahrheit,  
Und stellt euch an des Tages Glanz  
Den Jesuitisch Mummenschanz:  
Ihr Gleissnerei und Heuchelei,  
Ihr gottlos Fuchsschwänzeri,  
Ihr Fürstenmord und Tyrannei,  
All' ihrer Laster Teufelei.

König Heinrich sei der Welt  
Allhier zum Spiegel vorgestellt.

Was diese Sekt mit ihm gespielt,  
Ist gleichfalls auch auf euch gezielt.  
Drum glaubt es nur und seht euch für,  
Die G'fahr euch ruhet von der Thür.  
Kein Treu noch Glauben zu der Frist  
Bei diesen Jesuiten ist.

Die Jugend sie reitzen fort und fort  
Zu der Könige und Fürsten blut'gem Mord.

All' Marter sie verachten thun,  
All' Pein haltens vor Spott und Hohn  
Meinen, dass in des Himmelsthron  
Ihn' wird gegeben grosser Lohn,  
Wenn sie einen Fürstenmord vollend't.

\* \* \*

Also die Jugend wird verblend't!

## CHAPTER I.

### JESUIT ATTEMPTS IN GERMANY.

IN the Third, Fourth, and Fifth Books I have endeavoured to show how it happened, as must necessarily have been the case, that almost the whole Catholic world, priests as well as laity, were imbued with a feeling of disgust against the sons of Loyola, and in consequence of this would have been greatly pleased at their expulsion from the whole of Europe; but the fulfilment of this wish appeared to be impossible, as the Fathers mentioned dominated not only over Rome and the Pope but also over all the ruling Catholic princes. But behold, as regards this sway over the European Courts, a peculiar turn took place, which sagacious people had long foreseen, but which the Jesuits, with their many years' experience, had hoped would never arrive. Things had come to such a pass, that the rulers of the different European Courts became as convinced as of their own existence that their lives were endangered by the Society of Jesus, and there remained nothing else, if they were to sleep quiet in future, than to make an end by force of this terrible Order. Truly the high rulers did not come to such a conviction quickly, most of them requiring a long time, a very long time, indeed; but, none the less, they did at length form this conclusion, to attack Jesuitism, and it is now my task, by giving a historical sketch to the reader, to show the grounds on which they acted.

In the preceding Book I proved that the Jesuits considered murder allowable in certain cases, and that they, indeed, advanced

the proposition that it was a duty to deprive an enemy of life, as soon as it became evident that such a proceeding was the only means of saving a one's own honour or life. They did not exactly, perhaps, hold views which trampled under foot all the laws of morality, but they rather stretched the latter to such an extent as to make such permission to kill extend, in certain cases, even to regicide. They, indeed, formulated this theory as a moral dogma, which they caused to be printed in their theological educational books, proclaiming it as well to their pupils from the professorial chair. Not infrequently, indeed, they went so far as to impose upon the subjects of a monarch the duty of making away with him out of the world with dagger or poison, as being unworthy of sitting on the throne. This, the reader will say, is a calumny, or, at least, a misunderstanding, as the sagacious sons of Loyola could not commit themselves to such a piece of folly; but, indeed, it is unfortunately the case, just as I have said, and as a proof thereof I will allow the first and foremost work on murder-theology to speak for itself. In the *Opuscula Theologica* of Martin Bécan, at p. 130, the following passage occurs:—

“Every subject may kill his prince when the latter has taken possession of the throne as a usurper, and history teaches, in fact, that in all nations those who kill such tyrants are treated with the greatest honour. But even when the ruler is not a usurper, but a prince who has by right come to the throne, he may be killed as soon as he oppresses his subjects with improper taxation, sells the judicial offices, and issues ordinances in a tyrannical manner for his own peculiar benefit.”

In a similar way writes Paul Comitolo, an Italian Jesuit, in his *Decisiones Morales*, book iv. p. 458:—

“It is allowable to kill an illegal aggressor, even be he general, prince, or king, as innocence has more value than the life of a fellow-creature, and a ruler who maltreats the citizens ought to be annihilated as a wild, cruel beast.”

Father Commolet, of Paris, went still further when, in preaching, on a Sunday in 1594, in the Jesuit church there, he took for the text of his sermon that portion of the Book of Judges where it is related that Ehud killed the King of the Moabites. So the pious Father exclaimed with evident allusion to King Henry IV., “We require an Ehud, we require another Ehud, be

he monk, soldier, or shepherd." In the further course of his sermon he spoke of the King above-mentioned as a Nero, Moabite, Holofernes, and Herod, and loaded his hearers with the most bitter reproaches for allowing such a false, newly-converted person to remain on the throne; and, lastly, he hinted that "the crown might be conferred, by election, upon another family."

With such principles Father Hermann Buchenbaum entirely agreed, and, in the *Medulla Theologia Moralis*, permission to murder all offenders of mankind and the true faith, as well as enemies of the Society of Jesus, is distinctly laid down. This *Moral Theology* of Father Buchenbaum is held by all the Society as an unsurpassed and unsurpassable pattern-book, and was on that account introduced, with the approval of their General, into all their colleges.

Immanuel Sá says, in his aphorisms, under the word "Clericus": "The rebellion of an ecclesiastic against a king of the country in which he lives, is no high treason, because an ecclesiastic is not the subject of any king." "Equally right," he adds further, "is the principle that anyone among the people may kill an illegitimate prince; to murder a tyrant, however, is considered, indeed, to be a duty."

Adam T'anner, a very well known and highly-esteemed Jesuit professor in Germany, uses almost the identical words, and the not less distinguished Father Johannes Mariana, who taught in Rome, Palermo, and Paris, advances this doctrine in his book *De Rege* (lib. i. p. 54), published with the approbation of the General Aquaviva and of the whole Society, when he says: "It is a wholesome thought, brought home to all princes, that as soon as they begin to oppress their subjects, and, by their excessive vices, and, more especially, by the unworthiness of their conduct, make themselves unbearable to the latter, in such a case they should be convinced that one has not only a perfect right to kill them, but that to accomplish such a deed is glorious and heroic."

Father Nicolaus Serrarius, also, an Italian Jesuit, expresses himself in a similar way in his *Commentary on the Bible*, and, especially in his explanation of the murder perpetrated by Ehud on King Eglon, he makes use of the following words:—

"Many learned men think that Ehud had done well, and, on this ground, indeed, that he had been impelled thereto by God; I

say, however, that not only was this so, but there is yet another point of view, namely, that such a proceeding against a tyrant is perfectly justifiable. When a ruler proves, by his mode of governing, that he is a tyrant, he may, in such case, be slain by any of his vassals or subjects, irrespective of any oath rendered to him, or of waiting for any sentence or decree from any judge whatever."

The well-known and justly celebrated Bellarmin expresses himself almost still more plainly—the same Bellarmin who, by the demand of the Jesuits, was translated by the Pope among the saints—when, in his work, *De summa Pontificis Autoritate* (tom. iv. p. 180), he thus writes: "It is not the affair of ecclesiastics, or even of monks, to kill kings through artifice, and even sovereign pontiffs are not accustomed to crush princes in this manner. But, when they have warned the same in a fatherly way, excluded them from communion and the sacrament, absolved subjects, when it becomes necessary, from their oath of allegiance, and lastly, deprived monarchs of their royal authority and dignity, it belongs to other than ecclesiastics to proceed to execution."

But most precise are the words of the work, so highly prized above all others by the Roman Curie, *Defensio Fidei Catholicæ et Apostolicæ* (Defence of the Catholic and Apostolic Faith) of the Jesuit Suarez, which appeared in Lisbon in the year 1614, as therein it is stated (lib. vi. cap. iv., Nos. 13 and 14): "It is an article of faith that the Pope has the right to depose heretical and rebellious kings, and a monarch dethroned by the Pope is no longer a king or legitimate prince. When such an one hesitates to obey the Pope after he is deposed, he then becomes a tyrant, and may be killed by the first comer. Especially when the public weal is assured by the death of the tyrant, it is allowable for anyone to kill the latter."

Truly regicide could not be taught by clearer words, and the Parliament of Paris was so horrified thereat, that it caused the book to be at once burned by the hand of the executioner, on the 16th June 1614. The sons of Loyola, on the other hand, declared that a more learned, or God-fearing book, had never appeared, and that, therefore, whoever assailed it would be attacked by the Church. Indeed, from this time forth no Jesuit professor whatever wrote on Moral Theology, or any similar

subject, without adopting the teaching of Suarez ; and many, as for instance, the Fathers Ribadeneira, Commolet, Salmeron, Jacob Keller, Antony Jantarell, Baptist Bauny, James Herreau, John Dicastille, M. Escobar, Jacob Gretser, and others, ventured to go beyond him in their doctrines. But how, indeed, could this be otherwise ? One need only go into the Church of the Holy Ignatius, in Rome, and look at the pictures there which adorn the four sides of the cupola, to gather the sentiments of the Order of Jesus in relation to murder, especially as concerns regicide. On one side is to be seen Jael as she destroyed her guest Sisera by striking a nail through his skull ; on the second side, Judith, as, impelled by the spirit of God, she cuts off the head of Holofernes ; on the third side, Samson slaying the Philistines ; while on the fourth appears David after he has killed Goliath. Lastly, in the middle of the cupola is to be seen the Holy Ignatius, surrounded by a halo of glory, and launching great pillars of fire on all the four quarters of the globe, as if desirous of putting all lands of the earth in flames. And now, I ask, can the spirit of Jesuitism be more plainly expressed than it is thus indicated ; or, in other words, is there not a proof in these emblems that the Jesuits would be in contradiction to themselves if they had put forward any other teaching than this, that it is allowable to remove out of the world, in one way or other, anyone, let him even be a king, who stands in their way ?

But the sons of Loyola did not rest content with what they taught in this respect, but, wherever they considered it proper, they at once proceeded to action, directing their proceedings, of course, however, in accordance with the peculiarities of the country in which they were carrying on their operations. Thus it would be perfectly useless for them, as regards the employment of their system of murder in the different European Courts, if, through their agents, they got quit of this or that Protestant Prince in Germany, when his successor happened also to be a Protestant, and in this country, therefore, they required to be guided by another maxim. What was it, then, that they promulgated ? Simply they brandished there, instead of the torch of murder, the torch of conflagration ; that is to say, they contrived to beget, maintain, and excite, by all manner of means, the hatred of the Catholics against the Protestants until it broke out into flames, whereby the latter sect



never had any quiet, and at last, from sheer despair, fell voluntarily into the hands of Catholicism.

It is true, indeed, that through the last act of the Thirty Years' War peace was brought about between Catholics and Protestants; it is true that each party was guaranteed in the most solemn way the enjoyment of their religious liberty; it is true that both Catholics and Protestants longed after quietude, and desired to become reconciled to each other. But how entirely differently did the Jesuits think! Under the likeness of the Holy Ignatius in their church in Rome are the words, "*Ignem veni mettere in terram, et quid volo nisi ut accendatur*" (I came to send fire throughout the earth; what, therefore, could I wish otherwise than that the world should burst into flames?)—the motto of the founder of the Order. Have the sons of Loyola ever disavowed the same? No, never; for where peace and concord reigned there was an end to their dominion, so they must needs strive, at all hazards, to maintain such a state of things. Thus it was war that they desired, war at any price with the disbelievers; and in order to be victorious on the battlefield they, of course, addressed themselves, for help and support, to the Catholic princes of Germany, especially the House of Hapsburg, which furnished Germany with its Emperors. Indeed, it was not only by way of request that they came by this support, but they actually regarded it as a claim to which they had a right, and woe to those who instilled into the august mind to thwart them in any way. Woe to him, I say, for without hesitation they consigned him to death, and had resort at once to poison or the dagger, when they could not get him out of the world in a yet more silent way, or bring this about in another fashion by threats. True, it seldom happened that a German Catholic Prince, or one of the House of Hapsburg, earnestly resisted their proceedings, so it was, consequently, but seldom that they had in this case to bring their theory of regicide into practice.

I must, nevertheless, not be silent regarding a notable attempt at murder once made by them upon a German ruler, who to this day is known as one of the most zealous, submissive, and devoted promoters of Jesuitism. This monarch was Leopold I., who, in the year 1658, succeeded his father, the Emperor Ferdinand III., as well on the Imperial throne of Germany as in the

government of the Austrian inheritance, together with Hungary and Bohemia. Brought up by the two Jesuit Fathers, Müller and Neidhardt, there had, from his early youth, been infused into him a blind veneration for the Order of Jesus, and the Godhead itself (as one of his historians expresses it) did not appear to him so infallible and spotless as the sons of Loyola, to whom he belonged in the capacity of a so-called affiliant, that is to say, a secular confederate. Although the Emperor Leopold rendered such a bigoted attachment to the Society of Jesus, they, on the other hand, did not entertain the same love for him, but only made use of him in order to accomplish their great aim through his instrumentality. As I have before shown, the grand object of the Order was the formation of a Catholic universal monarchy, in which the Jesuit Faith should hold the dominion, and for a long time they hoped to be able to gain their end through the House of Hapsburg, which, after the time of the Emperor Charles V., branched off into a Spanish and Austrian line. But this hope was fruitless, and neither Philip II. of Spain nor the Ferdinands of Austria answered to the confidence placed in their capabilities. On the contrary, Spain, as well as Austria, sank so low through their rulers, by reason of continual wars, that upon their re-establishment there was no time for religious questions; consequently, the sons of Loyola henceforth directed their attention to the third great Catholic Power, namely, France, which, after the termination of the 'Thirty Years' War, began, under its youthful monarch Louis XIV., to put forward claims as the leading monarchy among all other states and kingdoms. He certainly, the powerful, generous, as well as highly-endowed Louis, was alone in a condition to found the much-longed-for universal monarchy, and, therefore, the sons of Loyola turned to him with untiring devotion, in order, through his great power and extensive influence, to further their high-soaring designs. It necessarily followed that the Jesuits, on the interests of France and Austria coming into collision, worked not for the welfare of the latter, but for the advantage of the former State, making every effort in order to persuade the Emperor Leopold to an accord with Louis XIV. The docile Leopold usually complied; on one occasion, however, when the sons of Loyola, at the instigation of Louis XIV., requested him to withdraw the religious liberty accorded solemnly to the Hun-

garian Protestants, as guaranteed to them by an oath, and to compel them by force to return to Catholicism, he dared to offer an earnest resistance. He ventured this, as he could not well do otherwise without placing at stake his entire empire, as how could he make head against a revolution in Hungary under the circumstances obtaining at that particular time?—it was in the year 1670, when the Austrian monarchy lay completely exhausted by the fearful events of the Thirty Years' War.

Besides, just in this very year, was there not a war threatening by the Ottomans, as well as another on the side of the aggressive Louis XIV. (against the German Empire); and in the immediate prospect of a struggle with two such powerful enemies was not the preservation of internal peace all the more urgently imperative? Certainly, Leopold I. did only that which he was compelled to do for his own existence when he positively refused the request of his Confessor, Father Philip Müller, backed by the other sons of Loyola,\* all-powerful then at Vienna, to rouse the Hungarian Protestants to an insurrection precisely at this critical juncture, by withdrawing forcibly their religious freedom. But the interest of Louis XIV., who, as before said, was then carrying on an aggressive war against the German Empire, positively demanded such Hungarian insurrection, in order to weaken as much as possible Austria's means of resistance; on that account, the sons of Loyola continued to urge Leopold to proceed forcibly against the Hungarian Protestants. As, however, in spite of everything, he remained firm in his refusal, they therefore determined to get rid of him out of the way, in order that the Regency for the heir to the throne should fall into the hands of the weak Empress, and they at once brought this their determination to a conclusion.

Yet, no; I am not right in saying that they brought it to a full accomplishment, because Divine Providence did not permit the completion of the crime; but their guilt was not thereby diminished by one iota. The affair happened thus. In April 1670, a Milanese nobleman of the name of Joseph Francis Borro came to Warsaw, by way of Moravia and Hungary, travelling towards Constantinople; as, however, for various reasons, he

\* These were, in particular, Father Balthasar Müller, Father Confessor of the Empress; Father Montecuculi, Father Confessor of the Empress Dowager; and Father Richardt, Father Confessor of the Imperial Field Marshal the Duke Charles of Lorraine.

had called down upon himself the hatred of the sons of Loyola—he was a skilful physician, chemist, and naturalist, with very free religious views—they thus pursued him everywhere, in-somuch that, with the assistance of the Papal Nuncio, they succeeded in getting the Austrian Government to arrest him on the Silesian frontier, and bring him to Vienna as a sorcerer and heretic who had been already sentenced by the Roman Inquisition. Upon his journey to the capital,\* the prisoner was informed by riding-master Scotti, who escorted him, that the Emperor Leopold had been, for some time, seriously ill, and that no remedies were of any use. Borro made himself acquainted with the symptoms of the complaint, and at once declared, after consideration, that it was undoubtedly a case of poisoning. “Should this, indeed, be so,” he added, “with God’s assistance he hoped he might be able to save the Emperor, and he, therefore, besought his conductor, immediately on his arrival in Vienna, to acquaint the Emperor with this conversation.”

Following this advice the riding-master Scotti, on reaching the capital on the 28th April, at noon, after making his prisoner secure, at once proceeded to the palace and demanded a private audience of the Emperor, as he had something of the greatest moment to lay before him. He obtained an interview, and the result was that his Majesty ordered the Knight Borro to be brought that very night to the palace, but secretly, after dark, through a back gate; for, of course, it was impossible for such a bigoted monarch as Leopold to receive openly, by daylight, a man accused of heresy and persecuted by the Jesuits, even were he the most skilful physician in the world. Indeed, although this clandestine and nocturnal reception gave him scruples of conscience, he questioned the Knight in regard to the disease which had overtaken him, after having previously instituted an inquiry concerning his visitor’s integrity, and having seen that all seemed to be in order.

Borro then examined the Emperor, and found him completely wasted and prostrated, afflicted with constant cramps, and plagued with insatiable thirst. Thereupon he devoted his attention to the chamber, and discovered there that the two wax

\* The whole is taken from the *Collection of Political Documents of Prince Eugen of Savoy* (8 vol. Stuttg. Cotta, 1811-21), where the particulars may be read in the last volume, pp. 49-82.

candles burning on the table emitted a very peculiar reddish light and a strongly sputtering flame, from which a fine white smoke curled upwards which had already deposited a rather strong precipitate on the roof of the apartment. "The air of the room is poisoned," said he, "and the miasma comes from the burning wax candles." As proof of this, at his request, the wax candles from the adjoining room of the Empress were brought, and it was seen that they burned with a white and steady light without any smoke or sputtering.

After matters had gone so far, the Emperor ordered his body-physician to be brought quite quietly, and, at the same time, the whole supply of wax-candles destined for use in the room was produced. This consisted of somewhere about thirty pounds, but originally it had been at least double the quantity, as only this description of candle had been in use in the Imperial chamber since the beginning of February. The lights were now more minutely examined, and the first thing that was noticed was that each of them was edged above and below with a gilt wreath, in order, without doubt, to prevent them being changed. Upon this all the wax was carefully detached from the wick, and submitted to a most minute examination. Here nothing suspicious was detected, and both physicians declared that the wax was pure. Eventually, however, when the wicks were examined, it was found that the Knight Borro had been perfectly right when he spoke of poisoning, as the whole of the cotton was found to be impregnated by a solution of arsenic, in which these had been soaked and then covered with wax. The arsenic, also, had not been spared, for, as a further investigation proved, whilst the actual wax only weighed twenty-eight pounds, the mass of arsenic in the wicks was not less than two pounds and three quarters. Certainly more than enough so to poison the air, in the process of burning, that the Emperor, by breathing the same during some weeks more, would have succumbed. In order to be quite certain on the point, a dog, which was quickly brought, had some of the wicks given to him enclosed in pieces of meat, when, behold! he expired in about an hour in the greatest agony!

The Emperor, now, after being sufficiently convinced in regard to the attempt to poison him, removed into another room that very night, and gave himself up into the hands of the preserver of his

life, who completely cured him within the period of a few months. At the same time His Majesty at once ordered it to be ascertained who had been the provider of the wax candles, ordering that the same should be brought bound to the palace. What was, then, discovered? The purveyor was no other than the Father Procurator of the Jesuits in Vienna, and the attempt at poisoning proceeded from no one else than the Society of Jesus. The Emperor, who had hitherto been so highly favoured by the sons of Loyola, felt a severe pang run through his limbs, but the pious Fathers experienced a still more severe shock, as they concluded that the end of their days at the Court of Vienna had now arrived; but they immediately recovered their presence of mind, for within the next hour they devised a plan which, did it but succeed, would re-establish their supremacy with the House of Austria.

The most prominent of the members betook themselves to the palace the next morning, after convincing themselves of the discovery of their crime, in order to request a private audience of the Emperor, and in this they congratulated the monarch in the most extravagant expressions of joy at his being saved from certain death. They, however, did not omit, at the same time, to declare that the Father Procurator who, unfortunately, was a member of their Order, was a detestable rascal, the quintessence of a villain, who was unworthy to appear again before God's sun, and, as such, he had at once been sent to Rome, heavily ironed, to the General, in order that he might be punished as a criminal of such a description deserved to be. "But," added they, with voices choked with tears, "what can the worthy Society of Jesus do, that pillar of the throne, that Brotherhood so highly esteemed by the State and the Church, seeing that one so unworthy should have insinuated himself in their midst? Would it be Christian, or at all suitable to resent on the pious community the crime of a single profligate wretch, especially when the fraternity had testified their abhorrence of such a deed of darkness by the exemplary punishment of the culprit?"

Thus did the spokesman of the sons of Loyola deliver himself; and the good Emperor, in his holy devotion and narrow-mindedness, gave credence to such language. He believed them because he was not aware that in the Jesuit Order a

member never acted on his own account and of his own accord, and never could act without the order of his Superior, the whole machinery being set in motion by the General in Rome, whom the rest obeyed as involuntary tools. He confided in them, and never asked of them, for an instant, what punishment had been assigned to the murderous Father Procurator, although it would have been of no avail had he asked, as the pious Fathers in black robes were, as is well known, never at a loss with some deceitful answer. Thus did the sons of Loyola not only escape unpunished, but retained, also, all the influence they had hitherto enjoyed at the Court, to the fullest extent. Indeed, they contrived to bring it about that the religious liberty of the Hungarians was taken away from them by force, and although that people broke out in revolt, they, at last, attained their end by getting rid of their illustrious patron out of the world by means of poison. They also maintained their well-nigh all-powerful influence over the said Emperor during the remainder of his reign, and even later it was not otherwise, during the sovereignty of his successors. Although immediately after his death, under his first-born the Emperor Joseph I., from 1705 to 1711, there elapsed a short period during which the Holy Fathers had to draw in their horns in a small degree, they were gainers under his brother and successor, the Emperor Charles VI., an exceedingly great patron of theirs; and that Charles's daughter and heiress, the Empress Maria Theresa, a lady than whom few were more devout, allowed herself to be almost completely led by them, is an only too well-known fact of history. After this the sons of Loyola had no occasion to bring their fiendish doctrine of regicide often into operation in Germany, and I pass over, therefore, to their behaviour in other countries, above all in England.

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## CHAPTER II.

### THE GUNPOWDER PLOT IN ENGLAND, AND THE POLITICAL INTRIGUES OF THE JESUITS IN THAT COUNTRY.

As I have already mentioned in the Second Book, Catholicism had been forbidden in England by Henry VIII., but not, however, altogether suppressed. Under his eldest daughter and successor Mary, rightly named "Bloody," it again boldly raised its head, and thousands of Protestants perished on the scaffold. Under Mary's successor, her half-sister Elizabeth, matters were, however, altered, as Elizabeth, daughter of Anne Boleyn, was a Protestant. Still, she had the generosity and sagacity not to persecute the Catholics, but gave her protection to all those who recognised her sovereignty and rendered her complete homage as loyal subjects. The English Catholics might, therefore, have lived unmolested, and *quite* undisturbed have exercised their religion, if satisfied merely with this; and they would have been satisfied had the sons of Loyola only suffered them to be so. These latter, however, wished to govern, not merely to be content. In order to rule, they desired the extirpation of Protestantism, and the re-subjection of England to the old devoted dependence on the Popes, and especially to the tyranny of the priesthood.

All this have I already entered into in detail, but it is necessary to recapitulate shortly, in order to render intelligible the several attempts made upon the life of Elizabeth and her successor James I. In truth, nothing else than the murder of these two monarchs was in question, in order to enable other members of the Royal Family of England, who were devoted to Catholicism



and blindly obedient to the Jesuits, to ascend the throne. The sons of Loyola, consequently, commenced their machinations by moving the Pope, Paul IV., immediately on the accession of Elizabeth to the throne, to launch a Bull of Excommunication against her, declaring her to be a usurper.

"The marriage of Henry VIII. with Anne Boleyn," said the Holy Father in this Bull, "was no marriage, but adultery, and Popes Clement VII. and Paul III. had already pointed this out; consequently, Elizabeth is a bastard, and has no right to the throne. Besides, England was originally a fief of the Holy Chair, and no one can, therefore, ascend its throne without being nominated thereto by Rome. On these two grounds the illegitimate daughter of the tyrant Henry VIII. must relinquish the sceptre of England, and humbly retire into private life. The real queen, however, is Mary of Scotland, of the House of Stuart, the grand-daughter of Margaret of England, who married James IV. of Scotland, and gave birth to James V., Mary's father."

Such were the contents of the Papal Bull of Excommunication. This Bull had, indeed, no immediate effect, inasmuch as the English, for the most part, recognised Protestantism, and wished to have no more to do with Catholicism (Popery), and it was folly to expect that, agreeably to this Bull, they would drive their monarch from the throne; none the less it might be relied on that a firm conviction remained in the hearts of those Britons still adhering to Catholicism, that not Elizabeth, but Mary Stuart, was rightful heiress to the crown, and, as a matter of fact, this was the foundation of future insurrections.

In order now, however, to spread among the English Catholics the conviction as to Elizabeth's usurpation, the sons of Loyola, by aid of their great patrons, such as the Pope, the King of Spain, and Cardinal of Lorraine, founded at Douay and Rheims so-called "English Colleges," or, as they might better be denominated, "educational institutions for young English Catholics," and in these the Queen was called nothing else than an unbearable tyrant, a heretic, and a deservedly accursed persecutor of the true believers, who had been solemnly condemned by the Holy Father. It may well be imagined what spirit the pupils of these institutions infused amongst their co-religionists on their return to their native country. The Jesuits, moreover, were not

alone contented with this, but they also made use of these Colleges to mould therein revolutionary emissaries—men, indeed, who deemed rebellion and insurrection, and even murder, as quite allowable means—men so fanatical that they came to consider martyrdom an open door of immediate entrance to heaven, and shrank from no peril or danger, not even the very greatest.

Up to this time the sons of Loyola, as regards their contemplated attempts against Elizabeth, went to work in quite a systematic way, not scrupling, indeed, to employ many years in their preparations, in order to make the attainment of their end the more certain. In the meantime, however, a small thread was wanting in their calculation, owing to the circumstance that Mary Stuart, her subjects rising against her, in the year 1568, was compelled to flee from Scotland to England, where she was at once taken prisoner, and rigorously guarded, being no longer considered by Queen Elizabeth as a mere fugitive, but rather as a rival and pretender who had laid claim to the English throne. This was, indeed, a severe blow; however, the Jesuits, after a time, became reassured, and at once resolved, after that several conspiracies instituted by them, as that of the Duke of Norfolk, had ended in nothing, to put into execution an act of daring which left everything hitherto thought of quite in the background for daring rashness.

This took place in the year 1581, and the plan consisted not only in the murder of Queen Elizabeth, but, at the same time, the assumption of the throne by the imprisoned Mary Stuart as ruler of England. Elizabeth, however, had for some time previously obtained hints that dangerous plots against her life and her crown were being hatched in the Jesuit institutions at Douay and Rheims; indeed, the plots daily gathered strength, inasmuch as these schools and colleges served as refuges for all the disaffected English, for all conspirators who had been banished from the country, in a word, for all adventurous and fanatical Catholics who, for some reason or other, were obliged to flee from their own native country. On that account she sent some young men on whose fidelity and sagacity she could trust, the most conspicuous of whom were called Elliot, Cradock, Sled, Mundi, and Hill, to Rheims and Douay, in order to ascertain

particulars respecting the Colleges, and, as these aforesaid youngsters gave themselves out as expelled and persecuted Catholics, they found no difficulty in obtaining admission into Jesuit institutions. They soon learned that three Jesuits, of the names of Alexander Briant, Edmund Campian, and Rudolph Serevin, had just taken their departure for England by different routes and well disguised; they further ascertained that these three were expected in London by fifty selected men, completely armed from head to foot, and that these latter had declared themselves ready, under the guidance of the three Jesuits, to murder Queen Elizabeth, with her favourite Robert Dudley, Earl of Leicester, and the Secretary of State, Walsingham; they further gathered that, immediately on the accomplishment of these proposed murders, a distinguished person, placing himself at the head of the English Catholic party, would seize the reins of government, with the cry "Long live Queen Mary of Scotland and England!" All this they discovered, and, of course, quickly contrived to make Queen Elizabeth acquainted with the information. The consequence of this was that the three Jesuits were arrested immediately on their landing in England, and, after their criminal intentions had been proved, were hanged on the 1st December 1581, together with several others of their fellow-conspirators, who, fortunately enough, had also been seized.

Thus did the first murderous attempt of the Jesuits on the life of Queen Elizabeth end miserably, and, what was still worse, the strictest measures were now taken against the Jesuits, as well as against all those who maintained any intimate communication with them. Especially, all Englishmen were forbidden, under punishment of death, to study in any Jesuit College or seminary, or even to reside therein, and all who were bent on visiting the continent had to state accurately whither they had the intention of going; the black cohort, too, now came to understand that none of them dare put foot again on English soil, unless they had a desire to become intimately acquainted with the gallows and the wheel.

It may be well imagined that the sons of Loyola were seized with no small rage on becoming acquainted with all this, and they at once hastened to extol their three companions, especially Campian, as martyrs, saints, and heroes, who had shed their blood for the good of the faith. Still, this kind of revenge

could not, of course, be sufficient for an Order such as theirs, but they thirsted after a more effectual and blood-thirsty retaliation, and two years later they indeed hoped to have found in William Parry the right man for this purpose. The latter, a man of noble extraction, who had become much reduced in circumstances, betook himself to the Continent in 1582, in order, by some means or other, to re-establish himself; embracing the Catholic religion in Paris, he then went to Venice, where he entered into intimate relationship with the Jesuits, and, in particular, with Father Benedict Palmio. The two soon thoroughly understood one another, and the new convert eagerly promised that, for the honour of God, and in order to release the Catholics of England from their frightful oppressions, he would stake his existence to take the life of Queen Elizabeth. Thereupon he took his departure for Paris, well furnished by Palmio with money and letters of recommendation; there he had a long conversation with the Father Superior Hannibal Codret, who strongly encouraged him in his praiseworthy undertaking, and, after receiving the Sacrament for the safety of his enterprise, he returned to England in February 1584.

On arriving in London, he began by playing the part of a zealous Protestant, and immediately wrote to the Queen that he had important disclosures to make to her about the Popish machinations which were hatching against her in France and Italy, as he had succeeded, while on his Continental travels, in getting at the bottom of several secrets. The Queen accorded him an interview, and he there represented matters so plausibly, feigning, at the same time, an almost extravagant attachment to her, that she received him afterwards several times. In this way he succeeded in making himself acquainted with the opportunities adapted for his purpose, and he at once determined to accomplish the murder as soon as the Queen, as she was in the habit of doing, took a walk in St. James's Park without attendance. As he considered it, however, to be essentially necessary that a boat should be in readiness on the Thames, in order that he might make his escape in it from the rage of the people, he was induced to make a friend his confidant and abettor, and for this purpose selected a cousin of his own, of the name of Nevil, who, on account of poverty, brought on by his folly, appeared to be well fitted for the purpose. Nevil entered

into the project with zeal, and at once provided himself with a boat in which, in order to accustom the people to its appearance, he daily went up and down the river.

Just at this time, however, while Parry was waiting for a favourable opportunity for committing the murder of Elizabeth—several other Jesuits, well disguised, being present in London in order to further the movement about to break out in favour of Mary Stuart and the Catholic religion—the Earl of Westmorland, an exiled English Catholic, died in Paris, childless; and at once, on this news reaching Nevil, who stood in very near relationship to the deceased, he reckoned that if he were to be the discoverer of a conspiracy which endangered the life of the Queen, he might be enabled to secure for himself the title and property of the deceased nobleman. Consequently he betook himself straightway to the Earl of Leicester, and disclosed to him the whole plot, in presence of the minister Walsingham, and the Vice-Chamberlain Hunsdon, whom Leicester had quickly summoned; of course, he did not fail to represent that he had only entered into the project of Parry in order the more surely to be able to frustrate the frightful crime which was contemplated. Be this as it may, Parry was arrested on the instant, and, being confronted with Nevil, confessed everything. Several papers were also found on him, by which, besides the above-named Fathers Palmio and Codret, Father Chreickton, together with Cardinal Como, were shown to be implicated, and in such a way as to prove, beyond all doubt, the moral guilt of the Society of Jesus, in that William Parry had been instigated, and impelled by them to the commission of the intended crime. Still, it was unfortunately not possible to bring punishment on any of the black troop, as each of them had contrived to make his escape in proper time; William Parry, however, was condemned, as guilty of high treason, to a most fearful death, and rightly underwent this sentence on the 2nd March 1584. He was bound to the gallows, and then opened, and, while still living, his heart, liver, and bowels were torn from his chest and body, and then burnt in a quick fire beneath the gallows; his body was then cut into four parts, which were nailed to the four gates of London.

For two years after this frightful spectacle, the Jesuits maintained peace, at least, outwardly; but in the year 1586 they

again succeeded in getting up a new conspiracy, and in obtaining fresh plotters against the life of Queen Elizabeth.

It happened that Anthony Babington, a young man of good family, from Dothick in the county of Derby, took a journey, in the said year, into France; and having arrived there, he, good Catholic as he was, allowed himself to be beguiled to enter secretly into the College of Rheims, in order to complete his education there. He here became acquainted with Father Ballard, and soon formed an intimate friendship with him; the Father thereupon conversed daily with him about the unfortunate Mary Stuart, as well as her Papal guaranteed rights to the English throne. He thus kindled, by degrees, in the heart of Babington, who was, be it said, of a very exalted nature, a most fervent sympathy for the imprisoned Queen, and as he now proceeded to show him her likeness (Mary was notoriously remarkable for her charming beauty) this sympathy grew to be a most maddening and enthusiastic admiration. If his love for the prisoner was great, his hate for the oppressor was, of course, still deeper, and the young man at once swore never to rest or remain quiet until the tyrannical Queen Elizabeth had lost her life at his hands. Yes, indeed, he swore a solemn vow to murder the said Queen, as then he would snatch the charming Mary out of prison, in order that she might adorn, at once, the thrones of England and Scotland.

With such thoughts in his heart, Babington returned to his home; but here his passion appears to have cooled down somewhat. He did not make any preparation to give effect to his intention, and delayed, indeed, long enough to give news of himself to Ballard. Then the latter became impatient, and, at once, secretly embarked for England, well disguised, in order to visit his young friend at Dothick. He made his appearance there, but not alone, being accompanied by a certain John Savage, a gloomy fanatic, who was a great enthusiast for the Papacy, and, in this society Babington's zeal revived. The project to murder Queen Elizabeth was again determined upon, and, in order to carry out the murder all the more surely, the three conspirators joined nine others, all of whom took a solemn oath to the Jesuit Father that they would sooner perish than relinquish this great affair. How could they, indeed, do otherwise, when the Father represented to them, in the most

glowing words, the uncommonly great service they would perform and urged that not a moment longer should be allowed to pass before carrying it out. "If you take the life of the tyrant Elizabeth," he daily cried to them, "it will appear as if you had killed a heathenish idol slave, or one accursed of God, and you commit no sin against either God or man. On the other hand, you may be assured of a crown of heavenly immortality, and may also, if you succeed, reckon upon a brilliant earthly reward."

Impelled by this and such-like discourses, the conspirators selected the 24th of August, the anniversary of the night of St. Bartholomew, for the perpetration of the crime. But what a fatality was this! By some accident the Government became acquainted with their frightful intention, and managed to seize upon them all, without exception, including the Jesuit Ballard. They were, of course, instantly brought to trial, and, on the 1st October, executed in the same barbarous way in which Parry had been deprived of life two years before. Their own execution, however, was not the least of it; the chief thing was, that as it came out in the examination of Mary Stuart, that she knew of the circumstance and had an understanding in the matter with them, she, too, was brought to trial, and beheaded, on the 8th February 1587, by order of the Parliament.

One would now have thought that the sons of Loyola would have ceased to have made any further attempt on the throne and life of Queen Elizabeth, after so many efforts had resulted in merely bringing their instruments to the scaffold; but it was exactly the reverse, for now, after the execution of Mary Stuart, they became perfectly furious, and, on that account, set every lever in action in order to attain their end. Instigated by them, therefore, King Philip II. prepared that grand Armada with which he contemplated the easy conquest of England; the waters of the ocean, indeed, had never before seen such a fleet! At the same time Pope Sixtus V. thundered forth a new Bull of Excommunication against Elizabeth, in which he not only declared her to be unworthy of the throne as a heretic and bastard, but empowered anyone to lay hands on her, and to deliver her over, either as a prisoner or dead, to King Philip as the head of the Catholics. But the Armada—"the Invincible," as it was arrogantly denominated—was wrecked in a storm on the chalk cliffs of England, and the Papal lightning was consumed by the affection of the

English for their Queen, without the slightest harm being produced thereby. The Jesuits again proceeded to prosecute their old attempts at murder, and Father Holte succeeded, in the year 1592, in working upon a Dutchman of the name of Patrick Cullen in such a way that he swore upon the Host he would take the life of the usurper Elizabeth. His project, also, failed; for hardly had he set foot on English ground than he was arrested and executed. Nor did it go better with the conspirators Williams and Yorke, whom the same Jesuit Fathers won over, in 1594, for such murderous undertakings, and in dying they cursed those who had hounded them on to the bloody enterprise. The last one to make any attempt was Edward Squiere, to whom Father Richard Walpode, a Jesuit, himself delivered over the poison which was to remove the English Queen from the world. He, equally with his predecessors, ended his existence on the scaffold, whilst his seducer, the worthy Father, scoffed at his folly in allowing himself to be seized, he himself having made his escape to Spain.

At length Elizabeth died, on the 24th March 1603, having, on the 15th November 1602, shortly before her death, issued a severe edict against the Jesuits, as the authors of all the murderous attempts against her, declaring them, and all of their way of thinking, to be outlaws for ever throughout her dominions.

The rejoicing among the sons of Loyola was, of course, great when the news of her death reached them, as in Elizabeth their mortal enemy had departed this life. Besides, they might dare to hope that the new King, James I., the son of Mary Stuart, would afford protection to the Catholics, and especially to the members of the Society of Jesus, who had done so much for his unfortunate mother, and that he would treat them, indeed, as his dearest friends. It was true, indeed, that he acknowledged the Protestant religion, the same as that to which his Scottish subjects belonged, and distinguished himself as well read in the Holy Scriptures; but the Jesuits conceived that this was only a mask not to forfeit the throne of Scotland and England, and they hoped that he would throw off the guise as soon as the two crowns had been placed on his head. They trusted this the more as James I. was remarkable for a certain indolence of character which frequently made him, to a considerable extent,



the mere sport of his Court, and they therefore awaited with anxiety the first governmental transactions of the new monarch. These did not turn out, by any means, as they had anticipated, for although by a published decree the law promised at once complete toleration to the Catholics, and accorded a pardon to the conspirators condemned, under Elizabeth, to strict imprisonment, James declared at the same time, on the advice of his influential minister, Robert Cecil, Earl of Salisbury, that England should remain now, as before, closed against the Jesuits, and that no change would be made in regard to the ordinances of Elizabeth against them. From this the monarch would not allow himself to be afterwards diverted, and, indeed, principally on the ground that, from his quiet temperament, he was, above everything, a lover of peace, while he was firmly convinced that he might ward off insurrections and disturbances from his kingdom by keeping the Jesuits at a distance. That was, indeed, a severe blow to the calculations of the Jesuits, and, even on this account, their rage knew no bounds. They therefore resolved to revenge themselves in such a way as had never been heard of before in the history of the world. They determined to annihilate the King, with his whole family, together with the entire heads of Protestantism in England, at one blow.

Before everything, on this account, it became a question to form a party in England who might take advantage of the confusion caused by the first great scene of murder, in order, with arms in their hands, to overthrow the Protestants. Consequently, a pretender to the throne must first of all be found, who, in addition to his devotion to Catholicism, might have the appearance of having right on his side. Lastly, the men had to be discovered who were fit to bring to a conclusion so formidable an undertaking as that which was in contemplation, and such men were, indeed, not to be picked up in the streets.

A great and difficult task thus lay before them; yes, indeed, a very great and very difficult one, and, on that account, it was resolved that the Chief, or Director, of Anglo-Jesuit affairs, the Provincial Henry Garnet, should proceed himself in person to the scene of operations, accompanied by several members selected with the greatest care, as it was desired to avoid, at all hazards, the chance of any misadventure taking place. Garnet himself,

therefore, choosing his people, among whom were especially remarkable Fathers Oswald Tesmond, John Gerard, and P. Oldecorn, took his departure for the British Islands. They did not, however, travel in company, but singly, in order not to arouse observation. Neither did they journey in Jesuit attire, or even under their own names, but one gave himself out as a merchant, another as a mechanic, and a third and fourth as old soldiers, or whatever else they chose. And as regards their names: Oldecorn called himself Hall; Gerard, to-day Brook and to-morrow Lee; Tesmond, Greenwell, as well as Greenwood; Garnet, too, was at one time Wally, at another Darcey, at another Roberts, at another Farmer, at another Henry, at another Philipps.

Having arrived in England, they betook themselves to those Catholics who had been previously pointed out by their spies as being the most zealous, and received from them in turn the addresses of other families who might be trusted as regards political matters. They thus, by degrees, visited the whole of those persons in England who still adhered to the Catholic persuasion. Before Protestants, however, they acted as the most zealous Puritans; but everywhere they taught that a King devoted to heresy could never be a proper monarch, nor could he demand the obedience of his subjects. To this, however, they added that King James I. was not of legitimate birth, or, at all events, there was great doubt about it, and, consequently, that it would be a most serviceable work in every respect to get rid of him as a heretic and usurper. The sons of Loyola, however, did not remain satisfied merely with this, but pointed out the individual who alone had a right to the English throne, in the person of Arabella Stuart, a daughter of the Earl of Lennox, who was a direct descendant of King Henry VII. The beautiful Arabella, too, was prepared to accept the crown at the hands of the Jesuits, and it was only, therefore, requisite that the throne should become vacant, in order that the Jesuit candidate should be enabled to ascend it. In other words, it now only remained for them to find the proper men in order to remove from the world King James, with his whole family and the heads of the Protestant party; but this the most difficult portion of this most difficult problem still remained to be solved. It was solved, however, up to a certain point, and certainly in

such a way as to entitle the sons of Loyola to all credit. Provincial Garnet had previously made the acquaintance, on the Continent, of Robert Catesby, a good English Catholic, and, at the same time, a nobleman of a family of consideration; and this Catesby, not having at that time attained a sufficiently high position in the State, was, from ambition, not disinclined to disturb the order of things in England. It was to him, therefore, that Garnet applied on his arrival in the British Islands, and their secret conversations soon brought it about that the nobleman declared himself ready to carry out the frightfully daring deed required of him. He was not, however, by himself equal to the task, so it was requisite that he should obtain several accomplices, whose iron will, as well as whose strength and courage, could be depended upon no less than their absolute secrecy and their enthusiasm for the matter in hand.

Consequently, it was necessary to be most circumspect in the selection, and, as Catesby always took counsel with Garnet and the other above-named Jesuits before he made the first communications to a new conspirator, or even, indeed, took steps to secure one, it was well into the year 1604 before the requisite number was complete. The names of these were as follows: Thomas Percy, a young profligate and spendthrift, but bold even to rashness, from the celebrated family of the Earls of Northumberland; Thomas and Robert Winter, two brothers, who had suffered much from persecution under the government of Elizabeth on account of their Catholic faith; Guy Fawkes, a wild soldier, formerly an officer in the Spanish service, whose well-scarred face bore evidence of his former deeds; Francis Tresham and Ambrose Rookwood, both of noble blood, and intimate friends of Catesby; Eberhard Digby, a man of considerable means and great talents, who, however, felt himself aggrieved, as a Catholic, at the neglect of the faith; Robert Keyes, Christopher Wright, and John Grant, all affected with similar ambition; lastly, Tom Bates, only, indeed, a servant of Catesby, but a remarkably sagacious and daring comrade, just the man for such a purpose, as he had been initiated into his master's secret from the beginning. Still, Catesby considered it well, before the formal commencement of the conspiracy, that this latter, on account of his vacillating scruples of conscience, should be especially schooled by Father Oswald Tesmond, out of whose hands he actually





*Gunpowder Plot.*

emerged as one of the most useful and active members of the plot.

Such were the men whom Catesby, by degrees, procured for his murderous plan, without, at the commencement, communicating to them "the hour and the when," withholding this for a later period. At last, however, towards the end of the year 1604, he considered the matter ripe for action, and thereupon called them together, on a dark November night, to his dwelling, where, besides himself, Fathers Garnet and Gerard were already waiting. The first thing was that they all confessed to Father Gerard, and, during the administration of the Sacrament, repeated the following solemn oath:—

"I swear, in the name of the Holy Trinity, and of the Sacrament of which I have the intention to partake, that I will never reveal, either directly or indirectly, either by word or in any other way, anything of what has already been confided to me, or will be confided; I swear that I will never draw back from the accomplishment of our undertaking without the consent of my fellow-accomplices; I swear, lastly, that I am ready to sacrifice my life and limbs for the only saving religion, or for what may be ordered for me by the priest."

After the whole twelve had now taken the oath, Catesby, as leader, proceeded to divulge his plan before the assemblage, and he did so, notwithstanding its enormity, with such coolness and precision as pass the bounds of astonishment.

"We can," said he, "get rid of the King in a hundred different ways. But how would that help us were the Prince of Wales, his first-born, the Duke of York, his second son, as well as his wife and daughter, to be allowed to survive? Besides, were all these dead, there would still remain a Parliament which would proceed against us with the most decided determination; there would also remain all the powerful lords and barons whom, should they place themselves at the head of the Protestants, we could not for any length of time withstand. We can, therefore, only promise for ourselves a sure and certain result when we remove out of the world the whole of the above-mentioned people at one blow, and in order to carry out such a great undertaking it is, indeed, imperatively necessary for us to treat all as one man. You look at me with astonish-

ment, and ask how can it be possible to carry out such a great stroke? I reply, however, that it is quite feasible, in this way: we must form a large mine under the Houses of Parliament and fill it up with gunpowder; when, then, the Parliament is opened by the King, who always appears accompanied by the whole of his family, we will set fire to the mine, and then His Majesty with the Royal Family, as well as all the members of Parliament, will be buried under the ruins of the palace."

Such was Catesby's plan, and, assuredly, never before had an idea of murder so fearful entered into the human brain. From the hideousness of the thought, the deepest silence at first reigned among the eleven invited guests, and when Catesby ended, their deep breathing could alone be heard.

Guy Fawkes then rose, advanced towards Catesby with flaming eyes, and, in silence, firmly shook the right hand of the latter. Several now did likewise, as proof of their entire approval of the tremendous project, notwithstanding its enormity. Some, however, hesitated, as if scruples of conscience had seized them, and one of them, Thomas Winter, ventured to give expression to those scruples in words. "Among the lords and other members of Parliament," said he, "there are several who belong to our own, the only saving faith, and the same is also the case with regard to the thousands of spectators which the spectacle of the opening of Parliament usually collects together, and many of those must, as a matter of course, also lose their lives on the blowing up of the palace. Dare we, then, perpetrate the great sin of slaying our own fellow-believers, and, without warning, hurl them to destruction, without their having had any opportunity for confession and absolution?"

Upon such a suggestion Catesby seemed irresolute, and had nothing to say in reply; but the Father Provincial, that is, Henry Garnet, whose utterances were looked upon as oracular by all English Catholics, instantly took up the discussion, and declared without hesitation that the scruples of Thomas Winter were without the smallest justification. "There are always in a besieged fortress friends of the besiegers," thus his explanation proceeded, "who suffer from the cannon; but do people leave off firing on that account? and much less do they refrain from storming. Catesby's plan, then, ought certainly to be accepted, as it would be, without doubt, most advantageous to the Catholic

party, and by the blowing up of the Houses of Parliament a much larger number of heretics than of true believers would be destroyed ; all, therefore, in common, must be consigned to destruction."

By this speech on the part of Garnet wavering thoughts were removed, and all present at once gave their hands to Catesby in indication of their thorough agreement with him ; he, there-upon, disclosed the further details of his plan, and also gave information regarding the place whence the mine might be constructed. In short, during that night all was arranged in regard to the carrying out of this fearful project of murder which goes in history by the name of the Gunpowder Plot ; and before morning the conspirators separated, the Provincial conjuring them in a fervent exhortation to remain true and steadfast to the duties they had undertaken. He concluded by praying with them and blessing them : he cursed, however, their enemies, consigning them to the lowest depths of hell ; and, in order that words might be replaced by deeds, raising his hands towards heaven, he exclaimed, "O God ! annihilate a faithless nation, annihilate her from the land of the living, in order that with full joy we may be enabled to offer up becoming praise to Jesus Christ."

The first thing that now took place was that Thomas Percy, by Catesby's direction, hired a certain house, which the owner thereof had for some time past tried to let, without being able to find a tenant, owing to its rather dilapidated condition. It was serviceable, however, not for its accommodation so much as for its situation, as at the back of it there was a small garden surrounded by a high wall, which prevented all curious people from observing what was going on inside, while it abutted on the court of the Palace of Westminster, in which the Parliament assembled. Scarcely had Percy taken possession of the said house, when the other conspirators assembled there ; this they did, however, not openly before all the world, but secretly, so that no one should remark it, and even the next neighbour might have been able to swear that it was inhabited alone by Percy and his servant, which latter part was played by Thomas Bates. With equal secrecy were the necessary means of living brought into the house, as, of course, for so many men what would be sufficient for Percy and his servant was not enough,



and a daily supply must needs be provided. The procuring of picks, shovels, handspikes and similar implements by which the excavation of the mine might be effected, was set about with the greatest circumspection, and several weeks passed before all the preparations were concluded.

At length, on the night between the 10th and 11th of December, the work was begun, and the twelve men did their utmost, night and day, from this period, being relieved from time to time. They had, however, a difficult task before them, as the Parliament was to open on the 7th of February 1605, and if the mine happened not to be ready by that time, their whole undertaking would be a failure.

Fortunately for them, the earth of the garden was, for the most part, of a light nature, and offered no great resistance to their picks and shovels; and another fortunate circumstance for them was that they were seldom disturbed in their operations by possible listeners from outside. In spite of this they were in sheer despair, on the thought of having to abandon the whole thing, when they came to the uncommonly hard foundation-walls of the palace, the boring through of which was far more difficult than they previously had conceived. They now learned, however, to their unspeakable joy that the opening of Parliament had been indefinitely postponed, and that it would not take place for several months. Therefore they worked with renewed vigour, and about March the nine-feet-thick wall was broken through, and reduced to a thin partition. But how should they then proceed to remove this latter? When, heaven and earth! what did they now hear? Loud voices on the other side; so that there was no doubt of their secret having been discovered! They instantly quitted the mine, and betook themselves to their house to provide themselves with arms, as they were resolved to sell their lives as dearly as possible.

Alone Guy Fawkes, the most audacious and cold-blooded, remained behind, and had the boldness to put his head through a hole which had already been made in the wall in order to see what was going on on the other side. And what did he now see and hear? Certainly nothing to occasion anxiety, but, on the contrary, something rather to make him rejoice. On the other side of the wall there was a large cellar, which extended immediately under the great hall of the House of Lords. This cellar

had been rented by a dealer in coals and wood, but, as the latter had just died, his heir was removing the goods in order not to be obliged to pay the rent any longer. Fawkes, of course, did not delay a moment in relieving his fellow-conspirators of their unnecessary anxiety, and they at once saw the great advantage from the fact now communicated to them. In truth, the benefit was immense.

Percy was forthwith commissioned to hire the cellar, and also to purchase the whole supply of wood and coal from the heir. Percy soon brought this commission to a fortunate conclusion, and the conspirators then possessed a large vault under the Chamber of Peers, into which they might convey as much gunpowder, by means of their mine, as they required, without being remarked by anyone. This, in fact, they accomplished, and by degrees introduced into the cellar not less than thirty-six casks filled with gunpowder—explosive material more than sufficient to blow the Palace of Westminster and all its surroundings into the air. They covered over these casks, too, so artfully with wood, coal, and bundles of brushwood, that no one would entertain any suspicion whatever, even if he had succeeded in inspecting the cellar without their knowledge. Besides, they constructed quite a wall of light brushwood before the entrance to their mine, in order to conceal this from the observation of the uninitiated; and so, consequently, it resulted that the frightful secret was well preserved.

In the meantime the Opening of Parliament was definitely fixed for the 5th November 1605—a Tuesday—while the conspirators had completed their last preparations in October. Among these was the mission of Sir Edward Baynham, a newly-acquired conspirator, whom Provincial Garnet had seduced, to Aquaviva, the General of the Order in Rome, in order to convey despatches to him; Fathers Stanley and Owen, two Englishmen, whom the same zealous Father had recently ordered from Donay, were also directed to betake themselves immediately to Madrid, in order to move Philip II. to send over a Spanish army in support of the Catholic cause in England as soon as the blow had been struck in London. Besides, Catesby had ordered Sir Everard Digby to the county of Warwick, in order to overpower the Princess Elizabeth, youngest daughter of the English King, who was then on a visit

there to Lord Harrington; not a single member of the family of James I., indeed, was to be spared. Thus everything had been done for the best, and the authors of the plot were congratulating themselves on the near success of their undertaking.

It now happened, on the evening of the 28th October, that a member of Parliament, Lord Monteagle, received an anonymous letter, written in a disguised hand, which was delivered to his servant by a stranger who did not wait for an answer. This letter was couched in these words:

"The friendship which I entertain for yourself and some of your associates, induces me to watch over your preservation. If you set any value on your life, manage to find an excuse from appearing in the next Parliament, as God and man have determined that the godlessness of this age will meet with punishment. Do not neglect this advice which I give you, but immediately go as fast as possible to your estate. A frightful blow will overtake Parliament, and the hand from which it comes will not be seen. Indeed, the danger will be over in as short a time as is required to burn this letter. I hope that God, to whom I pray, may take you under his protection, and that you will make a good use of what I now disclose to you."

Lord Monteagle did not know what to make of this letter, while, Catholic as he was, fearing that he might later on get into trouble were he to keep it secret, he hastened with it to Cecil, Earl of Salisbury, the Secretary of State. The latter, also, could not come to any clear conclusion, but, smiling, gave it as his opinion that it was a foolish joke, in order to work upon the fears of Lord Monteagle. He still considered it his duty to show the letter to the King, in order to receive his orders concerning it; and upon him the writing had a very different effect. James I. did not belong to the most courageous among men, and, consequently, he was not a little frightened about the threatening words used by the unknown warner. "A frightful blow," said he to himself, "which will fall without anyone knowing whence it comes—a danger which passes over in as short a time as is required to burn this letter—before God! the writer can only refer to the effect produced by the explosion of gunpowder." A frightful suspicion took hold of his mind, and, after a conference with the Secretary of State, he commissioned the Earl of Suffolk, then Lord Chamberlain, to examine care-

fully all the vaults underneath the Palace of Westminster, particularly as regards the Parliament Hall, besides the whole of the cellars of the adjoining neighbourhood. It was necessary, however, in order not to give any previous warning to the authors of the conspiracy, should such, indeed, exist, as well as not to alarm unnecessarily the English people in case the whole affair turned out to be nothing after all; that the search should take place on the night previous to the appointed sitting of Parliament. It was, therefore, effected in the night between the 4th and 5th of November. The Earl of Suffolk accompanied by a company of Guards, and led by Winhyard, the keeper of the Palace, descended into the vaults at Westminster. He found, however, nothing at all suspicious in the cellar hired by Percy that could in any way give rise to any fear, save that a fellow was discovered, of the name of Johnson, who gave himself out as a servant of Percy, the hirer of the cellar, and was apparently occupied in arranging the firing material, of which, as he said, a large supply had just been purchased.

To this effect ran the report submitted by Suffolk to the King, surrounded by his Ministers. The Ministerial Council, however, considered it to be most extraordinary that a private individual like Percy should possess such a large supply of coals, and not less remarkable that Percy's servant should be found prowling about the cellar at such a late hour of night. On that account a man of more sagacity than the Lord Chamberlain was hastily summoned, in the person of Thomas Knevet, Justice of the Peace, who was ordered not only to make a more accurate survey of the Parliament cellar, but also to direct his attention to the house adjoining hired by Percy. Sir Thomas Knevet at once set about this with the necessary guard, and an hour after midnight, also conducted by Winhyard, entered Percy's large cellar. What was there? Again no one but the man representing himself to be Percy's servant, of the name of Johnson, standing behind the door with a dark-lantern. Sir Thomas ordered a constable to apprehend the man and this was immediately effected, in spite of his desperate resistance. Upon him was found a piece of tinder, three matches, a dagger, and a pistol. It was also noticed that he was booted and spurred, like a man who was prepared to take a journey on horseback. This was in the highest degree remarkable, and Sir Thomas perceiving that

there was here some foul play, ordered further that the whole of the firing material should be thoroughly examined. This was done accordingly, and then the true nature of the alleged coal-cellar was revealed, and, to the intense horror of those present, the thirty-six barrels of gunpowder were discovered, with which, a few hours later, the Palace of Westminster would have been blown into the air.

The rest is soon told. The alleged Johnson was that very night—it was now 4 o'clock in the morning—conducted to the royal palace, where a ministerial council, under the presidency of James I., was sitting, and a strict examination of the prisoner was instituted. He acknowledged Guy Fawkes to be his name, as also that it was the intention to blow up the Palace of Westminster at the opening of Parliament. He exhibited no regret, but was furious, on the other hand, that his plan had not been successful. He also obstinately refused to give up the names of the conspirators, and wished to make it out that he was alone concerned without any assistance. Two days later, however, after he thought there had been sufficient time for them to effect their escape, he made a full confession, on being submitted to torture, and, thereupon, it was attempted to seize all the conspirators. These had been warned by a messenger from Father Teasmond, who had been made aware of the arrest of Guy Fawkes, and they had taken flight to Warwickshire, whither Digby had already proceeded in order to seize the Princess Elizabeth, and had collected a small following about him. As, however, the sheriff of the county, Richard Walsh, at the head of several thousand soldiers at once marched against them, they escaped, with several of their friends who still adhered to them, into the county of Stafford to the castle of Holbeach, the possessor of which, Stephen Littleton, as a good Catholic, did not refuse to receive them. They here wished to defend themselves to the last, as they thought it better to die with arms in their hands than to end their lives miserably on the scaffold. As, however, by accident, their supply of gunpowder (which, in consequence of becoming wet, had been laid upon a stone to dry) took fire and burnt some of them—they numbered in all some eighty—it resulted that they were no longer able to defend themselves. Thus the royal troops succeeded with ease in penetrating into the castle, and, in the first fight, Robert Keyes, Christopher

Wright, and about a dozen more were slain, while Grant, Digby, Rookwood, and Bates, with ten of their companions, had to give themselves up as prisoners. Robert Winter, Francis Tresham, Stephen Littleton, and some others, succeeded in escaping, but were likewise arrested in a few days afterwards, and all three swore they would sooner die than give themselves up, and in the case of two this oath was fulfilled; subsequently Catesby and Percy were killed by musket-shots after a long and brave resistance. Robert Winter was caught alive by his enemies, although severely wounded.

The whole of the prisoners were at once brought into the Tower of London, in which also Guy Fawkes lay. They were all examined, one after the other, and confessed their guilt, without its being necessary to put them to torture. The crime of high treason was thus proven, and on that account the sentence could be no other than death "at the hands of the executioner"; and this sentence was, indeed, carried out on all the above-named, in the public place before the Palace of Westminster, on the 30th January 1606, and those implicated in a smaller degree, who had first given support to the chief conspirators in the county of Warwick, got off by punishment of imprisonment and banishment for life from Great Britain.

Justice was, however, not satisfied with these victims as long as the authors of the plot were at liberty, and that these were to be sought for among the Jesuits the English Government entertained not the slightest doubt. This was sufficiently proved from certain letters which had been seized, and if the conspirators during their examinations had not, as a rule, expressed very much implicating the highly-esteemed Fathers, there were, at least, certain statements made which incontestably proved the sympathy of Fathers Garnet, Gerard, Tesmond, and Oldecorn in the frightful undertaking. The Government, consequently, made it known by an especial edict, on the 15th January 1606, which was attached to the church doors all over the kingdom, that no one, under the most severe penalty, should shelter the four above-named Jesuits, or render them the least protection, but, on the other hand, should make prisoners of them wherever they might be found, and deliver them into the hands of justice; and to secure this a large reward was held out. Much importance was apparently attached by the King and his

counsellors to the arrest of the Loyolites mentioned, not so much that they might be punished, but rather in order to show the world what a nefarious aim the Society of Jesus pursued, and with what infamous means it went to work. But, in spite of everything, Fathers Gerard and Tesmond succeeded in making their escape to the continent to France, and the two others, Garnet and Oldecorn, were likewise very nearly saved. These latter had fled, along with an equally true and faithful servant of Garnet, to Kenlip, into the castle belonging to a good Catholic of the name of Abington, and were concealed for some length of time in a chimney that remained undiscovered in some out-of-the-way corner, although it was known that they were in the castle. At last, however, all the domestics of Abington, without one single exception, were removed, and the lord of the castle was carefully watched night and day, when the three fugitives, impelled by hunger, issued from their retreat, and were at once brought to the Tower of London, where they arrived at the beginning of February. The joy at this capture was very great; it was, still, somewhat lessened by the circumstance that the servant of Garnet, on the very first night, ripped up his abdomen with a knife that he had contrived to conceal, in order that he might die—which, indeed, occurred—before being put to torture, through the pain of which he might be compelled to make a confession.

Still more vexatious was it for the investigating judges that Garnet and Oldecorn obstinately denied all complicity in the conspiracy, or even any knowledge of it, and for a long time resisted all remonstrance in overcoming their deliberate lying. At last resort was had to artifice, and this was successful in eliciting the truth. One of the prison attendants represented himself to be a zealous but secret Catholic, and played the part so well that after a little time Garnet gave him his entire confidence. The consequence was that he entrusted to his care letters to his fellow prisoner Oldecorn as well as to several well-to-do Catholics living in London. These documents now clearly revealed the truth of what the two Fathers had denied with such pertinacious obstinacy, and, after being made to confess, they were condemned to death for high treason. This sentence was also carried out on the 3rd of May 1606 with all the barbarity formerly attaching to such executions, and the two

miscreants died the death they had deserved two or three times over at least.

Such was the end of that Jesuit Catholic scheme which, under the name of the Gunpowder Plot, attained such celebrity, and one may well understand how it is that the English nation henceforward has entertained such an intense hatred, such an invincible disgust, towards everything connected with Jesuitism.

As to this hatred, James I. showed all his subjects a good example, for whenever afterwards any member of the Society of Jesus dared to touch, far less to pass, the frontier of his kingdom, even were the man's intentions perfectly friendly, he was most certain to be executed, could he only be caught. From this, then, a peculiar panic came over the aforesaid Society, and they henceforth ceased to disobey the command of the King. On the other hand, they revenged themselves by calumniating the latter in the most shameful manner, translating, at the same time, the conspirator Garnet, as a martyr and hero of the faith, directly into heaven. After the death of James I. the sons of Loyola believed that they might again dare to raise their head with boldness, as his successor, Charles I., had for his spouse a Catholic princess of the French royal family, he himself being only too pleased to do exactly what his spouse desired. The Queen, moreover, was of a very religious turn of mind, and her spiritual adviser especially favoured the Order of Jesus. What wonder was it, then, that the Jesuits now completely altered their tactics, and, forsaking blood and iron, strove to attain their end by flattering words. They had, indeed, ground for hope that they might in time gain over the King to their side, and, through his favour, be enabled to make a glorious entrance into England. They had reason to anticipate this, inasmuch as King Charles promised at the time of his marriage that, on ascending the throne, he would make the Catholic religion the national faith, and, in fact, he commenced his reign by filling up all the most important State appointments with Catholics only. Still the accomplishment of the Jesuit hopes was never realized, but, on the other hand, King Charles expiated on the scaffold the errors in his mode of Government; and with his death Catholicism lost for a long time all influence in the British Isles.

It was otherwise under Charles II., who, as is well known, was restored to the throne of his father after the death of Cromwell.



This monarch was almost entirely in the hands of his mistress, while he was looked after by Father La Chaise, the celebrated Confessor of Louis XIV.; hence it is apparent what means the Jesuits employed, and it may be well imagined that the interests of the Society of Jesus were not lost sight of. At the same time the Queen, who, as a Portuguese princess, acknowledged, of course, the strictest Catholicism, brought with her to London a Jesuit of the name of Antony Fernandez as Father Confessor, and this spiritual adviser ruled her so completely that she made all his wishes her own.

Thirdly, the Duke of York, the brother and probable successor of the King, who had no legitimate children, ruling as he did the whole Council of State, very soon went over secretly to the only saving faith, and through the persuasion of his Confessor, the Jesuit Father Simons, took this difficult step so publicly that the English could no longer entertain any doubt about his way of thinking. It is thus seen that King Charles lived in an almost thoroughly Catholic atmosphere, that is, in one impregnated with the purest Jesuitism, and, such being the case, who could take it amiss when the sons of Loyola gave it as their opinion that the King must, for good or evil, sooner or later equally openly embrace Catholicism. They nourished the hope, indeed, that he would not only revoke the strict laws which were still in force against the Jesuits, but even introduce the latter into England. Still, it happened that Charles II., not forgetting the sad fate of his father, lest the same might befall himself, was neither an open public apostate from the Episcopalian Church, nor did he alter the laws against the Jesuits, so that the latter were merely tolerated, but not by any means regularly installed at Court.

The wind now, however, suddenly changed its direction, as Charles II. at length died, in the year 1685, and the Duke of York, under the title of James II., ascended the English throne. Now, indeed, had the sons of Loyola true cause for rejoicing, as the new King allowed himself to be entirely governed by Father Peters, the successor of Father Simons, and the whole machine of the State moved according to the principles and orders of the Society of Jesus. It was a pity for them, however, that the English people were not overcome by such lethargy as to allow the nation to be long oppressed by despotism; it was, indeed, a

pity that the Protestants were not afraid to raise a revolution when their freedom of conscience and their religion was in question ; it was, indeed, a pity that after three years the King was left with no followers except the couple of Jesuit Fathers and the Jesuit friends into whose arms he had thrown himself, and that he was obliged to take flight to France on the landing of his Protestant brother-in-law, William III., Prince of Orange. The encouragement given to Jesuitism cost the foolish James II. his throne, and all the trouble taken by himself and his descendants failed to regain it. With him, also, the sons of Loyola had to take their departure out of Britain, and their return was debarred for ever by the strictest laws.

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## CHAPTER III.

THE ATTEMPTS ON THE LIVES OF PRINCES WILLIAM AND  
MORICE OF ORANGE.

As the inhabitants of the Netherlands and of Zeeland were driven into despair by the despotic cruelty of Philip II., who wished to rob them at once of their religious and their political liberty, the standard of rebellion was at length raised, towards the end of the second half of the 16th century; and in their fury, shrinking from no danger, although they were by far weaker and less powerful, they totally threw off the Spanish yoke, but only after a period of strife extending over nearly forty years, respecting which the reader has no doubt already made himself acquainted from the history of the world. It would, therefore, only be waste of time to describe the particulars of this stupendous war. I must not, however, omit to add that the Jesuits, from its very commencement, took a most zealous part in it; while King Philip, the despot and tyrant, found no more strenuous friends, and the Dutch, who were contending for their freedom and faith, no more bitter and implacable enemies, than the sons of Loyola.

All means were right for them, if they only tended towards injury to the Dutch or advantage to the King of Spain, and they refrained as little from violence as from deceit and cunning. Thus it is an acknowledged fact that they kept supplies of weapons and powder for the Spaniards in their different colleges at Antwerp, Doornick, Bruges, Maestrick, Gröningen, Nym-

wegen, Herzogenbush, Breda, and elsewhere, and in Utrecht they did not avoid playing the part of traitors when they desired to deliver the town into the hands of the enemy. On that account the Rector of the College there, Father John Baptist Bodden, as well as the Procurator, Gerard Posman, and the Coadjutor, Philip Nottin, were brought to trial, and these three were beheaded in the public market-place, by demand of the Court of Justice, on their treachery being proved. Many others of them equally deserved the same fate, as they secretly practised, everywhere, treachery against the Dutch people, and on that account the latter were often so furious against the fraternity that the whole attention of the magistrates and officials was required to protect them and prevent their being torn in pieces. Above everything, hatred against them was aroused by the shameful way of proceeding of which they were guilty against the House of Orange, and if at that time when they were carrying on their fiendish proceedings they could have been got hold of, not a single one of them would have escaped with their lives. It is known from history that William I., Prince of Orange and Duke of Nassau, who went by the name of the "Silent One," not only played an important part in the Dutch war of emancipation from the Spanish yoke, but that he may likewise be regarded as the founder of Dutch freedom. It was he who, in 1570, placed himself at the head of the great movement, and the States General had him alone to thank, on account of his sagacity, bravery, and talent, that they were not entirely subdued at the commencement by the overpowering might of Spain. Under these circumstances, it need not be wondered at that the "Silent One" especially incurred the hatred of King Philip and his friends the Jesuits. Can there be any wonder, then, that the latter determined to proceed by any means, even the most extreme, to rid themselves of such a powerful antagonist? Verily, indeed, if anywhere, it was here, in connection with the Prince of Orange, that there was occasion for practically carrying out their doctrine of allowable regicide, as there lived no man on earth at that time who put more hindrance in the way of the Jesuit plans than he, and, especially there was no one who might be substituted for him. Then down with him, the intensely hated enemy; then down with him by means of powder and lead, by poison or dagger, in order

that over his corpse the Dutch nation might again be fettered in the old yoke of tyranny and superstition.

The first to attempt murder the Prince of Orange was made by John Jauregay, a youth not five-and-twenty years old, and the circumstances were as follows :—

At the beginning of the year 1582 a Spaniard, of the name of Caspar Anastro, established at Antwerp, was on the point of making himself bankrupt; and, lamenting, he told his sad tale to his confidential friend, who, under the name of Juan de Ysunka, lived with him, but who, in truth, was no other than a secret Jesuit, as at that time no member of the Order dare show himself publicly in Antwerp. Sometime after this, his friend Ysunka, who in the interim had executed a short journey in order, no doubt, to consult his superiors, made him a proposition, under the seal of perfect secrecy, by means of which he might extricate himself from his fatal position, and it was truly a very meritorious means of doing so. Anastro now, of course, desired to know at once the particulars, and was informed that they related to the murder of the Prince of Orange, for which deed the sum of 80,000 ducats would be granted. This offer excited him in an extraordinary degree, and, as Ysunka understood how to work upon his friend in connection with religious fanaticism, he promised the latter that, should he succeed in freeing the world of this hideous heretic, he should obtain a place in Paradise, exactly in the middle between Jesus Christ and Mary! The man engaged, at length, to undertake the murder. But between talking and accomplishment there is an immense difference, and one who is vile enough to wish to commit a shameful deed, does not on that account always at the same time possess the power of accomplishing it. This at once showed itself in Anastro, who was much too great a coward to attempt the contemplated murder. On the contrary, he applied to a cashier of his, of the name of Venero, who had already been many years in his employment, and was acquainted with all his secrets, although, perhaps, not this one, desiring to know whether he in person would be willing to enter into the scheme, of course in consideration of sharing the reward, or, at least, would name some individual who would carry out the deed. Venero decidedly declined for himself, although not from abhorrence but from fright. However, he knew a fanatical young man of the name of John Jauregay, and at once

proposed to secure him for the affair. Ysunka as well as Anastro consented, and all three now worked upon the young fanatic, with whom they at once entered into communication, in such a way that he was seized with the most zealous enthusiasm. He swore, therefore, to remove out of the world the Prince of Orange, the arch enemy of Catholic views, in order to do a service to Heaven, and fixed upon the 18th May for the accomplishment of the deed. He thereupon took the Sacrament from his ordinary Father Confessor, Antony Timerman, a Dominican monk, who encouraged him in his praiseworthy enterprise, undertaken purely for the honour of God ; indeed, the conspirator longed for the hour in which he had arranged to commit the deed. The author of the shameful act, however, the said Juan de Ysunka, did not display much courage, but suddenly disappeared from Antwerp, with his friend Caspar Anastro, and the two put themselves in safety with the Prince of Parma in the town of Tournay. They thought that the youth, were he to be taken prisoner and subjected to torture, might give up their names, in which case their days on earth would, of course, be numbered as soon as they were caught ; but in Tournay their friends the Spaniards were in the ascendant, and thence they might bid defiance to the Judgment Court of Orange.

At length came the long-expected day on which Jauregay was to accomplish his blood-thirsty intention. It was a Sunday, and the Prince of Orange betook himself to the church, as he was accustomed to do every Sabbath, in order to be present at public worship. Jauregay followed on foot, dressed in his holiday attire, but he was unable to get near the Prince on account of the large number of his attendants. From the church, Orange returned to the Citadel in which he resided, and placed himself there at the open door, so that everyone was able to see him with his family and some friends at table. Dinner being ended, it was intimated to him that a suppliant wished to speak with him, and he at once rose in order to go from the dining-room into an adjoining apartment. Just as he entered a shot was heard, and he felt himself hit by a ball which penetrated below his right ear, passing through the artery and the left cheek, whence it issued. He fell down as if he had tumbled from the heavens, as the shot had been fired so near him that even his hair was set on fire by the explosion of the powder, and

he, at first, thought that the Citadel was about to come down on the top of him. The fainting-fit did not, however, last very long, and when he came to his senses he was informed that a murderer had fired at him. "Save his life," he exclaimed, "and as soon as I am bound up bring him before me, as I wish to examine him myself." A most courageous order, certainly, which placed the excellence of his character in a most charming light. Moreover, a most sagacious direction, because, in this way only might it be possible to discover, with certainty, who were the true authors of the affair, it being most important to ascertain this fact. Unfortunately this order was given a quarter of an hour too late, as the guests of Orange, on the shot being first fired, threw themselves on the assassin, and literally hewed him to pieces with their swords.

As no one knew who he was, it at first seemed that no information would be obtained, but on searching the pockets of his clothes a Jesuit catechism was found, as also a memorandum-book in which everything was noted that it was desired to know. It was hence ascertained not only who he was himself, but also who were his guilty accomplices, and at once all available means were set in motion in order to catch hold of the ill-doers. But, from the circumstances already stated above, they were only successful in the case of Venero, the former cashier of Anastro, as well as of Timerman, the Dominican monk, and, on the two being subjected to torture, a full confession was obtained; they were, therefore, of course, according to the custom of those days, sentenced to a death of martyrdom. This sentence was, however, only partially carried into execution, that is to say, the magnanimous William remitted the torture, and consigned them to death by strangulation, after which their bodies were cut into four pieces, and attached to high stakes in order to give a terrible example. There they remained during four years, until, in 1586, the Spaniards entered into Antwerp, when the Jesuits, who everywhere accompanied the Spaniards in captured places, took them down, and accorded to them a solemn burial, treating them, moreover, as martyrs, who had met with the death of heroes in a good cause.

William of Orange recovered completely from the severe wound which the fanatical Jesuit emissary had inflicted on him, but he recovered only to succumb, some years later, to a new

attack made by the Jesuits, notwithstanding that the sons of Loyola had, immediately after the attempted murder above described, been banished out of all the provinces of Holland, and a regular hunt made for everyone who might be considered as associated with them secretly, or regarded as true members in disguise.

Now for this affair. It was in the first days of May 1583, that the Silent One received at his house a Burgundian, who was presented to him not only as a zealous reformer, as well as the son of a martyr for the new religion, but who, also, produced the highest letters of recommendation. This creature, called by his true name, was Balthasar Geraerts, or Gerhard, but he termed himself Balthasar Guyon, and his credentials stated that he was the son of a certain Guyon who had been executed a few years before in Besançon on account of his Huguenot faith. As with his name, so also with his professions. He carried on a false game, as he affected great zeal for the Protestant religion, attended the Protestant Church regularly, and was never to be seen without having a Bible in his hand, while he was as fanatical a Catholic as there could be. But all this only came to light subsequently, as, on his first appearance at the Court of Orange, he contrived to conduct himself so well that no one had the slightest doubt regarding the truth of his assertions.

The Silent One, therefore, took him into his service, and employed him in all kinds of missions which required thought and adroitness, and, on account of his knowledge of languages, selected him to act as spy in the camp of the enemy. From one of these missions Gerhard returned to Delft, in the beginning of July 1584, where William of Orange then stayed, and was at once admitted, without difficulty, to the Prince, who was still in bed. He rendered to him so accurate a report concerning everything he had learned, and the Silent One expressed himself so satisfied with his skilful emissary that he issued an order to pay Gerhard a considerable sum of money as a reward for his services. Besides, his master observed to him personally that he would shortly entrust him with a new weighty mission, and that he must, therefore, come to him again in a few days to the castle. They separated, as it seemed, very much pleased with each other; and the suite of Orange looked upon Guyon as a most favourite and useful servant of their lord, in whom, from his coming and going, the greatest confidence might be placed.



Gerhard appeared again at the palace on the morning of the 10th July, and caused himself to be announced to the Prince ; but he, being engaged otherwise, did not receive him, but put him off until the afternoon. Gerhard now went into the court below, and lingered about until nearly 1 o'clock after mid-day. Just about this time William had to proceed to the Senate, and passed through the court, accompanied by only a few attendants.

Gerhard now, advancing quickly towards him as if he had something to say, and coming up quite close, fired a pistol at him loaded with three bullets. With the exclamation "God have mercy on thee, my soul, and my people!" William of Orange fell down, feeling himself to be mortally wounded. He was raised and carried into his apartments, and the doctors were quickly summoned, but before they arrived he had already expired in the arms of his wife, without his being able to utter another word. In the meantime the murderer, as soon as he had fired the shot, took to flight, and, under the general confusion into which everyone was thrown, succeeded in reaching the walls of Delft unharmed. But here, just as he was about clearing the ditch, the Prince's guard, who had at length been emboldened to pursue him, threw themselves upon him with cries of rage, and easily overpowered him. The Council of State then immediately assembled in order to proceed with the examination of the murderer, and he at once made quite a candid confession.

"His name," he said, "was Balthasar Gerhard. He was born at Bille in Franche-Comté, and he was twenty-six years of age." He went on to say, further, that he had procured his false papers through his having entered the service, several years before, of Count Mansfeld, as secretary, under the name of Jean Dupré, when he procured a blank paper provided with the signature of the Count, which he filled up. The desire, however, to murder the Prince of Orange had seized upon him most powerfully, having arisen from the ineffectual attempt of Jauregay becoming known. His scruples of conscience, however, had for some time held him back from the accomplishment of the crime, and he would probably never have been equal to it had he not, in the course of the preceding month of March, gone to Treves, where his business had taken him, and where he had made the acquaintance of a Jesuit Father, with whom he took counsel, and by whom he was not only strengthened in his intention, but taught that such a murder

would be a work of immense advantage; indeed, that if he ever contrived to cause the death he would be certain to obtain a place in Paradise, and be received among the number of the holy martyrs. Still, not being perfectly satisfied by the counsel of this individual Father, he at once applied to three other Fathers one after the other, all being members of the said Order, and, having confessed to them, he obtained from all the same assurance of eternal bliss. This determination had thus come to maturity, and he had accomplished the deed without experiencing the slightest compunction. Gerhard confessed all this with the greatest freedom in his first examination; he would not, however, divulge the names of the four Jesuits, and declared that he was unacquainted with them. On the following day, the 11th of July, he was subjected to torture in order to elicit the whole truth, but he added nothing more than that, some weeks previous, while travelling from Treves to Tournay, he had disclosed his design to the Prince of Parma, Lieutenant of the King of Spain and Governor of Holland, and that he had been zealously strengthened in it by him, as well as by Christopher d'Assomville, President of the Council of Regency, who had been summoned purposely on that account, by whom he was deluged with promises and brilliant hopes. In a later examination, conducted on July 12th, he repeated these statements, and as there was not the least ground for entertaining any doubt about the matter, he was thereupon sentenced to suffer death on the 14th of that month, not merely an ordinary kind of death, but one sharpened by the most frightful tortures. First of all, the hand with which he had fired the shot was burnt with a red-hot iron, then the fleshy parts of his body were torn out with red-hot tongs, he was then hacked, while still living, into four pieces, and the fourth, the breast, was opened by the executioner with a rapid blow, and his still beating heart thrown in his face, while they cried out, "Murderer, remember our murdered father!"

The horrible scene of torture lasted for upwards of two hours, and then, even as the last quiver of the divided members ceased, the matter was still not yet ended, as the four quarters were fastened by chains on the four chief bastions of the town, and the head, detached from the trunk of the criminal, was placed on the highest summit of the tower.

Such was the end of Balthasar Gerhard, the murderer of

William of Orange, the Silent Prince ; and cruel as the punishment had been, the Dutch judged it to be much too mild. Philip II., on the other hand, raised the family of the murderer among the nobility, and the sons of Loyola proclaimed, from all the pulpits of which they had command, the sound of his praises and heroic courage. Indeed, they instituted solemn processions in his honour, in which his likeness was borne aloft, as that of a martyr, as they believed that after the death of the great Orange the Dutch rebellion would be with ease subdued, and, with it, heresy extirpated. Thereupon, they hoped not only to come again into possession of all their fat pastures, but trusted that their dominion should be still further extended, so that soon the whole of Holland would be under their subjection.

These hopes, however, did not meet with accomplishment ; no, indeed, for they completely failed. The Silent One had a son, the Prince Morice of Orange, whom the States-General at once, notwithstanding his youth, elected to be their Stadtholder, as also their chief and commander, and he excelled even his father in military talent and courage. The Spaniards lost much more territory than ever before in Holland, and in a period of ten years there was, indeed, much danger that they would be obliged to evacuate it entirely. Under these circumstances, was there any wonder, then, that the fury of the sons of Loyola yearly increased, and that their old thirst for murder was awakened ? "Down with Morice of Orange !" exclaimed they aloud in their Colleges, though outside their walls they did not do so quite so freely ; they looked about, however, all the more assiduously for a suitable tool. For a long time they failed to find one, as the people all feared the fate of Balthasar Gerhard, and the certainty of an earthly life was dearer to them than the hope of bliss in Paradise.

At length, in the year 1592, the Jesuits were informed of an individual who seemed suited to the undertaking, and they at once determined, in the absence of a better subject, to take him into their pay and allegiance. He was a cooper in Douay, of the name of Peter Panne ; such a poor fellow, and so miserable, that he often hardly knew how to keep his wife and child from starvation. His Father Confessor, a member of the Order of Jesus, first of all questioned him. At that time the Jesuits

were all-powerful in Douay, as well as at a later date, when this town belonged to Belgium, which, up to the end of the foregoing century, continued to form a Hapsburg-Spanish province, that is, a Hapsburg-Austrian dependency. This Father spoke to him so much concerning the merit of murdering a heretic, that he at length became quite anxious to take part therein. When he got him so far, the Father then brought him into his College to the Rector, who took him to the Provincial for Franco-Belgium, which latter had his residence there at that time. The two then initiated him in all that he had to do in order to remove from the world the great heretic and patron of heretics, Morice of Orange, and promised him, besides heavenly bliss, a yearly pension and a lucrative appointment. Besides which, as a foretaste of the delightful life he expected, they gave him no inconsiderable sum as earnest money, and administered to him after the requisite absolution the holy Sacrament. After all these preliminaries, the man prosecuted his journey to Leyden, in which city Morice of Orange then resided, and he had hardly arrived there when two Jesuits in disguise received him, and earnestly impressed upon his mind to go to work with the greatest foresight, in order that his attempt should not prove a failure. Peter Paune promised this, and made sure that he would with perfect certainty hit the Prince. But lo and behold, within a few days, on the 27th May, he already found himself in the hands of justice, before he had time to make use of the sharp dagger given to him by the pious Fathers for the purpose, and which he carried about with him. He was taken prisoner on account of his frequent anxious inquiries about Morice of Orange attracting attention, and besides, in answer to questions as to who he was and what he had to do in Leyden, he gave the most contradictory statements. In his confusion he conducted himself as if he were legally cross-examined, and most certainly the poor man was not at all adapted for a murderer, and the Jesuits had been completely mistaken in him, for in the first half hour he freely confessed everything that was on his mind without there being any necessity for employing torture. Search was then at once made for the two secret Jesuits, but these had disappeared, and still less could they be found also in Douay. The poor cooper was accordingly fastened upon and deprived of his life, through the employment of various tortures, of which

nothing was omitted ; the whole trial, with the necessary documents, being made public through the press.

From this time forth the States-General of Holland took still stricter measures against the Jesuits, and not only proclaimed them as men whom anyone might kill as soon as they had crossed the boundaries of the realm, but also most strictly forbade all citizens of the State from allowing their sons to be educated in any of the foreign Jesuit schools even temporarily.

The Order of Jesus in this way lost the territory of Holland completely, and even abroad it began to be looked upon as a Society which was dangerous alike to the peace of States as to the life of princes.

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## CHAPTER IV.

THE GREAT COMMOTION AT PARAGUAY; OR, DON SEBASTIAN JOSEPH CARVALHO E MELLO, COUNT OF OXYRAS AND MARQUIS DE POMBAL.

I HAVE already related in the Second Book of this work how uncommonly firm the sons of Loyola had established themselves in Portugal, immediately on the planting of their Order, and it must appear, on that account, almost superfluous for me to add that they themselves had the almost absolute conviction that their influential position could never in future be in any way altered. To them was at once entrusted the education of the princes, as well as of all the Royal Family, and no man could offer any opposition to there being implanted in the youthful minds of these children the deepest devotion and the most intense love for the Order of Jesus. The pious Fathers lived at Court as the all-powerful spiritual advisers of the kings for the time being, as well as of the entire royal House; and the example of the reigning family was, of course, followed by all the ministers of State as well as the grandees of the kingdom, in a word, by everyone who had either anything to hope for or anything to fear. Who, then, could dare to go at all contrary to their wishes, or to thwart in any way their will in any matter of importance? Who could presume to snatch out of their hands the reins of the government of Portugal? and who could venture to hurl them from the throne of arrogance which they had set up for themselves to the more modest position of servants of the Lord, to whom is assigned nothing but to attend to the

salvation of the confessing children entrusted to their care? In spite of all this, the pitcher, as is well known, continues to go to the well until it breaks, and the harbingers of this coming rupture began already to show themselves under King John, who reigned from 1706 up to 1750. The said John, although in his early years brought up by the Jesuits and guided by the Jesuit confessors, chose for himself, as soon as he became King, a Father Confessor from amongst the ordinary clergy, and refrained during the whole period of his reign from selecting a Jesuit to hold that post. Why, then, was this? Doubtless it arose as much from the conviction he had formed that the Order of Jesus, from its inordinate love of power and pretension, *as well as by its immoral principles*, was most pernicious, as from the fact that the personal inclination of every Court Jesuit was that the sons of Loyola should be allowed rather to preserve in their keeping the consciences of the family, or, more correctly, of the whole of the princes and princesses of the House, without let or hindrance. The sons of Loyola conducted themselves as if no harm could at all accrue to them from the change in the appointment of royal confessors; in fact, it was desired by them, because they were considered to be morally responsible for several furious deeds of their often unmanageable lord, who was, not infrequently, in such a state as to treat even the higher officials with blows and kicks! Be this concerning him, however, as it may, the Jesuits had occasion to be disquieted.

John V. instituted, in 1714, after the pattern of the French Academy, an "Academia Portuguesa." This was not only an openly directed blow against the monopoly in educational matters which the Jesuits had up to this time held, but it was this very Academy, also, which formed a rallying point for the best heads of Portugal at that time, its sayings and writings penetrating like warming rays of light through the hitherto cold darkness of native literature. Besides, the Academy demanded, without further ado, that new schools should be started, at least, in the larger towns of Portugal, in which a different system of teaching should be adopted to that hitherto followed by the Jesuits—in a word, the symptoms increased so much that a storm was at hand, directed against the members of the Society of Jesus.

Such was the state of things when the King, from increasing years, fell more and more into a condition of mental weakness, and became more overbearing than ever; and when, subsequently, in the year 1750, his son Joseph I., who had for his confessor Father Moreyre, one of their most distinguished brethren, came to the Government, no one of them, or, indeed, nobody in the world, would have dreamed that within less than the period of a decade their existence, not only in Portugal, but in all the Portuguese colonies, would have been completely destroyed. Still there is an old proverb, "Man thinks but God guides," and this was applicable on the present occasion, for that frightful blow, which shook the Order of Jesus to its very foundation, came from a direction which was least expected. The reader may, no doubt, recollect what I have related in regard to the possessions of the sons of Loyola in South America, and I would especially beg him to recall to mind what has been stated as to the great Jesuit kingdom of Paraguay.

Over that rich and extensive country, which Spain possessed in all her glory, the sons of Loyola, on behalf of their General in Rome, ruled with such an unlimited monarchical sway, that, while the King of Spain was the nominal lord, a Spanish governor could not, at any time, dare to pass over the frontiers, and the whole so-called lordship of the Spanish Crown consisted in a head-money that the population of Paraguay paid, a head-money, it may be remarked, the extent of which was determined by the Jesuits themselves, and which came to something very trifling indeed. Thus it was with the great monarchy of Paraguay, of whose existence but little was known in Europe up to the year 1750, as has been already stated in the First Book. Nor was any information extant as regards its commerce, its productions, its inhabitants, its boundaries, and everything else relative thereto; all, indeed, was concealed as a profound mystery, to which the sons of Loyola alone had the key. Therefore, when at any time a traveller succeeded, by craft or other modes, in penetrating the great continent, in spite of its being almost hermetically sealed by its rulers, and when he then promulgated abroad a trustworthy report of the little he saw, as he was soon again turned out of the country, if nothing worse befell him, astonished mankind would think they were listening to some fable, and give no further credence to the same. In the



year 1750, however, light was at length thrown upon the subject. A far-off territory, which was known by the name of Brazil, belonged to the Crown of Portugal, while the property of all the Crown of Spain, on the other hand, consisted of all that large extent of territory which stretched from Brazil to the Pacific Ocean, that is to say, the present States of Bolivia, Peru, Chili, the Argentine Republic, Montevideo, Uruguay, Buenos Ayres, Paraguay, &c. Some of this territory was certainly of no great value, as it was not known, as yet, how it could be made profitable. Much of it was only known by name, that is, these lands were merely indicated on the map, which had been prepared as well as could be done under the circumstances. Notwithstanding this, however, each of the two Crowns watched over it with jealousy, in order that the one might not take a portion from the other, and on this account many frequent and vexatious contentions arose; so it happened that, commencing in the year 1748, the two Governments mentioned negotiated with each other respecting a more accurate definition of their boundaries. At length, in the year 1750 (on the 13th January), a State treaty was concluded, just prior to the death of John V. In this document it was distinctly laid down, among other things, that, for the more perfect separation of the two territories, Portugal should relinquish to Spain the large colony of San Sacramento, while, on the other hand, Spain should make over to Portugal the considerable portion of Paraguay forming the circle or reductions of St. Angelo, St. Giovanne, St. Michele, St. Lorenzo, St. Luigi, St. Mido, and St. Borgia. This passage of the treaty caused the greatest commotion in the camp of the Jesuits, as, should it be carried into effect, their present monarchy of Paraguay, by its division into a Spanish and Portuguese portion, would be in danger of being broken up; it was to be feared, indeed, that the Portuguese portion, about a fourth of the Jesuit monarchy, would be completely taken away, because the Portuguese Government, in accordance with their usual custom in their other colonies, sent governors who took all secular and administrative power with energy into their own hands. So, too, there was cause for anxiety in regard to similar regulations on the side of Spain, as soon as the latter should become acquainted with the hitherto unknown size of the remaining portion of territory. In

a word, the loss of the whole charming kingdom seemed to be imminent as a consequence of the stipulations of the treaty. The division, therefore, whether in this way or that, must be at any price prevented, as every ruler defends himself to the utmost when external enemies attack his kingdom or threaten him with dethronement.

At first the Jesuits tried amicable ways, and, as soon as they obtained accurate information respecting the treaty which had been concluded, they sent a representation to the Court of Madrid, in which, with the fullest detail, they called attention to the difficulties, dangers, and disadvantages of the projected exchange. "The newly-baptised original inhabitants of Paraguay," said they therein, "owing to the great oppression to which their brethren in the adjoining Brazil had been subjected, had conceived such an aversion to the Portuguese that they would sooner take flight into the wilderness in the interior of America than submit to the Crown of Portugal. Added to this, were the exchange to be effected, Spain would lose more than 40,000 active subjects, without being indemnified sufficiently for this loss by the colony of San Sacramento. Portugal would thus be enriched at the expense of Spain; and, also, it might be feared that the splendid great forests which were known to exist in the seven reductions, would afford opportunity to the Portuguese, as well as to their friends the English, of procuring wood for the building of ships with which to attack the Spanish possessions by force."

The sons of Loyola sought, by these and similar representations, to work upon the Spanish Government in order to annul the treaty which had been concluded, and in such endeavours they were zealously supported by their fellow brother Father Ravago, Father Confessor of Philip V. It is remarkable, however, that, at the same time that they sent these representations to Madrid, they delivered to the Portuguese Government at Lisbon a document worked up for the same purpose from San Sacramento, in which the matter was represented that the treaty of exchange was an absolute injury to Portugal, and that the Portuguese Government would be the defrauded party if the treaty came to be carried out. Thus, after their usual custom, they played a double game, and whilst in Madrid Father Ravago, so in Lisbon Father Moreyre, supported these endea-

vours by their confessorial influence, and they very nearly succeeded in gaining their object. At least, King Joseph sent a special minister, Anton Lobo di Gama, in the year 1751, to Madrid, in order, if possible, to retract the contract of exchange now concluded. But his endeavours failed, owing to the firm conduct of Queen Elizabeth, spouse of Philip V., who exercised a great influence over her lord and master; and thus there remained nothing for it than for both sides to appoint commissioners who should examine into the boundaries.

The Crown of Spain nominated on its behalf the Marquis of Baldilrios; the Crown of Portugal General Gomez Freire d'Andrada, both men of tried sagacity and energy, and at the same time, also, of strict moderate views, so that they cherished neither any special friendship nor yet any enmity against the Jesuits; thus it was to be hoped that they might be enabled to bring to a satisfactory conclusion, without difficulty, the matter as to the determination of the boundaries. The two Plenipotentiaries consequently proceeded on their mission in a happy mood, and their suites, besides a few armed servants, consisting almost entirely of mathematicians and surveyors, were none the less animated by the same feelings.

The Jesuits in Paraguay received intelligence respecting all these preliminaries early enough to be able to make provision relative to obtaining, from their General in Rome, the requisite orders as to remonstrance, and to come to a definite conclusion as to what should now take place. The amicable plan of proceeding having failed, should they now, without any further ado, humbly submit and allow the long-accustomed sway, with all the riches attached thereto, to cease? or should they offer an energetic opposition to the invasion, and, with weapons in their hands, prevent the entrance of the enemy, Spaniards as well as Portuguese, into the country?

"We have," said the sons of Loyola to themselves, "half a million of subjects, and among them at least fifty thousand capable of bearing arms, who are for the most part already well experienced; we have, further, in our arsenals, weapons as well as cannon in abundance, the number of which we could soon double. We are thus capable of making resistance even against a strong army, while the enemy, on account of the long distance of Paraguay from Portugal and Spain, as well as on account of

the uncommon difficulties which always attend the transport of troops by sea, would be in a position to oppose but a small force against us. Why, therefore, should we not defend ourselves?"

Thus argued the Jesuits, and on this calculation they formed their resolutions. At the same time their sagacity told them that, in order not to bring the whole of Europe against them, they should not openly place themselves at the head of the rebellion, but rather, in this respect, throw dust in the eyes of the world; and, consequently, as the further instructions from Rome went, "there should, indeed, be a resistance offered by the Fathers, but only a secret one, and in the background."

The reader can doubtless now divine what was to take place, and I shall thereupon be as brief as possible. As the plenipotentiaries of the two Crowns arrived, with their people, at the place where their boundary proceedings should begin, namely in the reduction of St. Nicolo, the Indians had collected in force, and, through a deputation, intimated to the gentlemen that, as they were likely to meet with a strong opposition, they had better leave the matter alone. The plenipotentiaries naturally remonstrated, and requested that they might speak with the two Fathers who had hitherto usually conducted a reduction, but these latter had disappeared, and neither of them was forthcoming. Compelled by necessity, the plenipotentiaries now retired, but only to make a second and third attempt in another community. The result, however, was the same everywhere, and they were nowhere able to commence their business.

On this account they betook themselves to Monte Video, at the mouth of the La Plata river, and began there, as later on in the town of Colonia, to enlist troops, in order to bring, by force, the rebellious Indians to reason. But with this they did not make such rapid progress as they had hoped, and it was only in the spring of the year 1754 that they were in a position to take the field. They at once united their two small armies, embarked them on the La Plata to the Parana, and advanced against the Indians, who were entrenched near the entrance of the small river Pardo. They succeeded in defeating the latter, and in taking somewhere about fifty prisoners. But through this they did not gain much, as the Indians again collected together at a short distance, and formed afresh a fortified camp.

On the other hand the two Government Commissioners gained information from their prisoners respecting the instigators of the rebellion; and, behold, these leaders and commanders turned out to be no other than, as the plenipotentiaries had suspected, the Jesuit Fathers in person.

After a short rest, the united Portuguese and Spanish troops, as before, won a small victory for the second time. The further, however, that they advanced into the country, the greater the masses were whom they had to encounter, and, as these people showed themselves uncommonly skilful in war, it seemed sufficiently plain that they had experienced men as leaders; so at length there was nothing for it but to conclude a truce with the Indians, in order to avoid the shame of a defeat. This agreement was concluded on the 16th November 1754, being signed on the side of the Indians by Don Franz Anton, head of the community of St. Angelo, Don Franz Guacu, Overseer of St. Nicolo, and the two heads of St. Luigi, Don Christoph Acuatu and Don Bartholomew Candiu, and the two plenipotentiaries returned to their Governments at Madrid and Lisbon in order to beg for new instructions, and especially for weapons, ammunition, and troops. These were immediately obtained, and by the end of the year 1755 several thousand men, as auxiliaries, proceeded from Spain and Portugal, and the most stringent orders were issued by the rulers of these countries to the chiefs and provincials of the Jesuits to submit themselves at the peril of their lives, "as their Majesties had been fully and accurately informed that the Fathers of the Order of Jesus were solely and entirely to blame for the rebellion of the Indians, and, if the latter were not, on the spot, brought to submission, it would be necessary for their Majesties to proceed at once, according to citizen and canonical law, against the chiefs as well as other Jesuits which were within their realms, and to punish them, as criminal offenders, for high treason."

All this had not the slightest effect on the sons of Loyola, and there was no question of submission. The Spanish and Portuguese potentates now again united, and determined, in January 1756, to penetrate for a second time through the pass of St. Thecla into the interior of Paraguay. They succeeded in this, and the first battle took place on the 10th February, when the Indians left no fewer than 1,200 dead on the field. A second and third

battle came off on the 22nd March and 10th May respectively, in both of which the natives got the worst of it. But the Europeans also suffered great losses, and their commanders became the more convinced that there could be no question of any termination to the war without considerable reinforcements being sent from Europe. The Indians still possessed—according to information obtained from some Jesuit Fathers who had been taken prisoners, in Father Gribouville a general of infantry, in Father Charles d'Anières a cavalry officer, and in Father Glatz, called the "terrible brother," a commandant of artillery—leaders such as were not easily found in the most experienced armies!

The reinforcements were this time fully prepared, as it was incumbent for the two Governments of Spain and Portugal to make an end of the Jesuit State of Paraguay and the rebellion therein established, and Generals Baldilrios and d'Andrada obtained such a superiority, although not certainly until after the lapse of three years—that is, in 1759—that the resistance was regarded as completely broken. During that time, also, the two Generals had sent over to Europe, and by this means had taken the spirit out of the rebellion, not a few well-guarded Jesuits who had played an important part in the war, and who had been unable to save themselves by flight; but it was only towards the end of the year 1768 that peace was fully established, when all the Jesuit missions in South America were given over to the civil powers.

Whilst these things were taking place in Paraguay, not less important transactions were going on in the mother country of Portugal, and as these latter were intimately connected with the subject under consideration, it is now time for us to direct our attention to the Court of Lisbon. At that capital, on the accession of Joseph I. to the throne in 1750, the Jesuits to all appearance had become quite as powerful as ever, as the King and Queen had, as I have already mentioned, Father Joseph Moreyre as Father Confessor, the Queen mother Father Joseph Ritter, the royal princesses Father Timotheo Oleveira, the King's brother Don Pedro, Father Hyacinth da Costa, the Princes Don Antonio and Don Emanuel, cousins of the King, Fathers Samuel de Campos and Joseph Araugio; besides which, Father Rochus Hundertpfund was greatly esteemed by the Queen, while Father Gabriel Malagrida was held in the greatest consideration by the King. In short, it was be-

lieved by all that the Jesuit harvest never before had been in such luxuriance as at this time, and the sons of Loyola themselves held that their power in this country was founded on an immovable rock. But were they justified in so thinking? One single man alone overthrew the fabric of their power, and that individual was Don Sebastian Joseph Carvalho e Mello, afterwards Count of Oeyras and Marquis de Pombal. Born in the year 1699, at the Castle of Soure, near Coimbra, and in tolerably humble conditions—his father being only a captain—did not belong to the first rank of nobility; when grown up, no brilliant career seemed to be marked out for him, and he, therefore, had recourse to the usual expedient of poor nobility, that is to say, he entered the army at a very early period. As, nevertheless, owing to brawls, he was exiled from Lisbon, he thereupon entered the University of Coimbra in order to study law, and there displayed such great talent that he soon surpassed all his fellow students. A rapid career was prophesied for him in the service of the State, should he devote himself to the judicial branch, and he had this, indeed, on his mind, when a lady brought about a complete alteration in his future life. He made the acquaintance of a beautiful, as well as rich, widow of rank, Donna Theresa de Noronha-Almada, and so contrived to secure her affections that she married him in spite of the disapprobation of her proud relatives. This, however, now roused his own pride, and, in order to be able to encounter the said relatives with equal pretensions, his whole aim and object was to raise himself as quickly as possible. He, therefore, now took up his abode at once in Lisbon, and, after being presented at the Court, strove to ingratiate himself in the favour of John V. This, indeed, was no easy matter, as the high relatives of his wife intrigued in every way against him, and so far succeeded that the whole nobility of Portugal persecuted him with implacable hatred as an intruder into their unapproachable circle. At last, however, in the year 1739, he succeeded in obtaining the appointment of Ambassador in England; and this was great good fortune for him, as he was enabled to employ his spare time in carefully studying the English commercial system, so detrimental to that of Portugal. At the end of six years, in 1745, he was recalled from London, as a new minister of John V., Peter de Motta, could not endure him; so Don Sebastian now lived for several months unemployed at the Portu-

guese Court. During this time his wife died, a victim to the revenge of her relations ; and he now laboured most persistently at Court, never resting until he obtained another embassy, that, namely, of Vienna, and this brought him more luck than he expected.

He married again there, for a second time, the Countess Daun, who, as a former First Court Lady to the Queen Mother of Portugal, possessed great influence over the latter, and he, besides, became acquainted with some Jesuits, who at that time were all-powerful at the Imperial Court, and they promised to support him, to the best of their ability, in his ambitious designs. The mission of Pombal in Vienna was not, however, of long duration, as after two years his enemies in Lisbon again brought about his recall, and consequently he found himself, for a second time, without office and preferment. But, disagreeable as was this time of involuntary idleness to him in some respects, he contrived to employ it, nevertheless, not unprofitably, as he took pains to gain the favour of Father Moreyre, and, through him, the heart of the Crown Prince Joseph. The first matter was not very difficult, as Pombal was highly recommended by the Vienna Jesuits ; in regard to the latter, however, that is, the influence and support of the future monarch of Portugal, the well-trained man developed such uncommon skill from his previous diplomatic career, that Joseph, as soon as he attained to the Government in 1750, instantly made him Secretary of State for Foreign Affairs, and shortly afterwards promoted him to be his all-powerful Prime Minister.

Now, at length, Pombal had attained the goal of his long endeavours of many years ; now, at length, he saw himself in a position to accomplish the plans which he had so long cogitated ; now, at length, he was enabled to extricate his Fatherland, once so beautiful and blooming, out of the condition of impotence into which it had, for many years—indeed, too many years—sunk. This is not the place to speak of all the reforms which the new minister effected. I must not, however, refrain from remarking that he perceived a chief reason for the profound decadence of the State, in the complete ruin of commerce, which formerly had been the source of such great riches to the Portuguese, and that he asked himself at once as to how this ruin had come about. The



answer was simply this, that the English, and still more the Jesuits, had appropriated to themselves the commerce of the East and West Indies, as well, especially, as that of South America, seeing that private merchants, no longer able to compete with the sons of Loyola, who had command over enormous funds and formed a compact society, had by degrees expended all that they possessed, capital as well as credit. With the view of remedying this evil, Pombal resolved to found an especial commercial society, the object of which was to carry on freely commerce with the American colonies of Portugal, and at the same time enjoined that all connected with the clergy should, according to the Pope's command, abstain and hold themselves aloof from commerce. As a man of action, however, he did allow himself to be content with the mere determination, but he never rested until the contemplated society had been launched into existence, and the above-mentioned Papal command renewed, although he could not conceal from himself that he was thereby mortally wounding his former friends the Jesuits. Such was, indeed, the case, and the sons of Loyola at once entered the lists openly as his enemies. Thus, for instance, Father Emanuel Balester hurled a fulminating sermon against him in the cathedral church of Lisbon, in which all those who contributed money to the funds of the new commercial company were threatened with God's anger and with everlasting punishment; and another Jesuit, of the name of Benedict Fonseca, was commissioned by his superior to issue a pamphlet, in which the King was made aware of the disadvantages of the recent ministerial regulations. But Pombal made short work of these two pious Fathers, and banished them from Lisbon without further ceremony, whilst he threatened with a similar fate all those who did not take warning by the example of Balester and Fonseca. In consequence of this the sons of Loyola conducted themselves with greater circumspection, especially as they became convinced that it was by no means possible to shake the confidence of King Joseph in his favourite. In their inmost thought, however, the resolution remained all the stronger, to leave no means unemployed to overthrow this dangerous man, who, instead of proving himself thankful to them, had struck such a severe blow against their self-interests, and had, indeed, estranged the heart of the King from them. They had not long to wait for an opportunity.

In the year 1755 a frightful earthquake shook the whole of Portugal, and especially reduced the capital, Lisbon, to a heap of ruins. The misery was boundless, particularly as a description of plague-like disease, accompanied by famine, raged among the ranks of the people. "Behold the Destroying Angel of God," cried the Jesuits, who at that time were almost everywhere present; "He punishes us all for the godlessness of that man whom the King has the weakness to place at the head of the Government, and the anger of Jehovah will never be again appeased until this wicked parvenu, who has especially attacked the clergy, has been removed, and until he has met with his righteous punishment." These and similar words they every day proclaimed loudly in all the public places, reiterating them as well from the pulpits; and the superstitious people, who allowed themselves, indeed, to be persuaded that all the blame of the destruction of the capital, as well as the terrible misery of many thousands, was due to the opposition offered to the Church by the First Minister, loudly demanded the deposition and death of the Marquis of Pombal. Already the King began to waver, and when, yielding to the entreaties of the high nobility, who, as was well known, also entertained intense hatred to the minister, he turned his back on the ruined city, in which Pombal's presence was necessary, it seemed, indeed, that the demand was about to be complied with. But here again the influence of the minister triumphed, and never were his mental power and energy so conspicuously displayed as now. He called to the King, "The place of the ruler is in the middle, amidst his people"; and the King remained. "Let us bury the dead, and think about the living"; and the people began to bless him, because he restored order, rebuilt their dwellings, and gave food to the poor. He obtained the mastery over the aristocracy, as he induced the monarch to issue an edict which threatened the most severe punishment to the calumniators of the Government, and brought this same edict into immediate operation against such men as Don Juan of Braganza, Don Joseph Galva de la Cerda, and others. Lastly, he forbade the preaching of the Jesuits, as well as interdicted them the use of any pulpit throughout the whole of Portugal, and at the same time decreed from that hour the withdrawal from them of all secular jurisdiction in their American missions of Portugal. This was Pombal's

reply to the calumnious and foolish attacks of his enemies, and he silenced them all, the sons of Loyola excepted, whose fangs became swollen with venom even to bursting; and they determined, after they had secretly collected a number of complaints and false accusations against the minister, to take the heart of the monarch by storm on the 21st September 1757, the very capable Father Confessor Moreyre being selected to effect the first breach. To their misfortune, however, their fiendish plan was betrayed to Pombal on the evening of the 20th September, and he contrived to be beforehand with his implacable enemies. With this object he begged the King to require the assemblage of a Council of State, under the presidency of his Majesty, during the night of the 20th and 21st; and at this sitting, after the vile game of intrigue on the part of the Father Confessors, as officiating Jesuits at Court, had been thoroughly laid bare, it was unanimously resolved that these pious individuals should be removed in a body from their appointments, and confined to their profess-houses, and that monks of other Orders should be called in as spiritual advisers. Scarcely, however, had this resolution been determined, when the Royal Chamberlain, Don Pedro Jozé de Silveira e Bottella, at once received orders to carry out the same in the night; and, as this Chamberlain was of a very energetic nature, at 4 o'clock the next morning not a single Jesuit was to be found in the palace.

One may well imagine what an enormous commotion this bold conduct of Pombal's caused, not only in Lisbon and Portugal, but, indeed, throughout the whole world, and the minister himself must have been aware that should anything of what he had undertaken fail, it might cost him his honour and life. But however great was this venture, and notwithstanding the enormous difficulties with which he had to contend, he remained undaunted, and did not desist one moment from the great consequences of his act. So, of course, the banishment of the sons of Loyola was only the beginning, and the end must be their complete expulsion from Portugal, or, if possible, out of the entire globe. Before everything, Pombal proceeded to expose to the world the true nature of the Jesuits; and with this object he caused a document to be prepared from the public archives, as well as the Reports of the Generals, who, as above explained, had been instructed to carry into effect the

treaty regarding the boundary regulations, in which the whole behaviour of the sons of Loyola in the Republic of Paraguay was thoroughly exposed in its true aspect.\* He, also, did not neglect to make it publicly known everywhere that the King of Portugal had been induced to remove from about his person and court the sons of Loyola, principally on account of the grave misconduct of which they had been guilty in Paraguay; while a word of warning, that men with minds so disposed to high treason were most dangerous for any government, was likewise not wanting. In short, Pombal did his utmost to show to the world the true character of the Society of Jesus; so that the members of the same, who were at all times uncommonly clever with their tongues, were brought to silence, and struck down by fear, owing to all these statements, without daring to say a word in reply, or a syllable in refutation. Everyone would, therefore, be of opinion that it was impossible for the pious Fathers to clear themselves of the imputations brought forward against them. On that account the Portuguese minister easily secured public opinion for himself, and all now rejoiced that at length a man had been found who had the boldness to place the knife to the throat of a Society so universally diffused all over the world, and which up to the present time had been looked upon as invincible. Pombal himself still felt strongly that what he had done was far short of what should be effected, and it was especially clear to him that a Catholic Order in such a bigoted Catholic country as Portugal had been and still was, could not possibly be permanently humiliated if the supreme head of Catholic Christianity did not come over to his—the minister's—side, and sanction his regulations. He, therefore, at once, in an extremely urgent despatch, dated 8th October 1757, commissioned de Almada, the Portuguese Ambassador in Rome, to inform the then reigning Pope, Benedict XIV., most accurately of all the proceedings that were being carried on by the sons of Loyola, and thus supported, claimed the assistance of the highest ecclesiastical authority in taming their audacious roguery.

“The Holy Chair,” thus proceeds this document, among other matters, “will perceive the urgent necessity for bringing these

\* The complete title of the little work translated into all living European languages was, *Short Report of the Republic formed by the Jesuits in the Spanish and Portuguese Territories and Lordships beyond the Sea, and which endeavoured to prevail against the Arms of both Nations; extracted from State Archives of both Crowns, and other Authentic Papers.*

ecclesiastics back to the observance of the chief rules of their Order, and of prohibiting them from all intermeddling in political matters, in temporal interests, and commerce, in order that, being free from all injurious desire of ruling courts and of enriching themselves by trade, usury, and banking transactions, they might be useful in serving God and their neighbours. The Knights of the Temple had been severely punished on account of the offence that they had given, yet it had never been heard that they had committed such great crimes as the Jesuits. They had never established their own republics in the states of other sovereigns, and hounded on subjects against their rightful rulers. It is also not known of them that they ever usurped entire states and kingdoms. All this the Jesuits had done, as their colonies already extended from Maramnon (Amazon river) up to Uruguay. In a short time their realm had so grown in America, and had been so constituted, that no European Power was possessed of sufficient strength to drive them out of such enormous territories, especially as they were supported by a mass of natives whose language and customs were only understood by the Jesuits."

Pombal gave utterance to such sentiments in Rome in order to bring the Pope to a speedy determination; when, however, Benedict hesitated, the minister repeated his demand in a still more sharply-worded despatch of 10th February, 1758, and the ambassador was instructed to threaten a rupture of relations between Portugal and the Holy Chair if no regard were paid to the righteous charges of the Portuguese Government. The Pope could now no longer defer answering the demands placed before him, and caused the Marquis of Pombal to be informed that he wished to nominate Cardinal Saldanha to be reformer and general supervisor of the Order of Jesus in all the Portuguese States, if this should meet with the approval of the minister. Pombal at once declared himself to be agreeable to this, and, in fact, the said Cardinal received, in a Brief dated 1st April 1758, full and unlimited power to investigate thoroughly in Portugal the state of the Order of Jesus, and, according to the exigence of circumstances, to reform it fundamentally. At the same time, he was entrusted with private instructions from the Holy Father, wherein the greatest foresight, sagacity, moderation, and circumspection were recom-

mended to him, and particularly he was enjoined to bear clearly in mind that he was to avoid, as much as possible, occasioning any rumours, irritation, or publicity, in order that too much injury might not be occasioned to the Society of Jesus from the investigation.

One thus sees that the Pope was playing a double part, being anxious, in any case, to shield the sons of Loyola as much as possible. They, on the contrary, as soon as the Brief of Saldanha became known in Portugal, raised a frightful clamour, declared that the same had been surreptitiously obtained and was invalid, bespattered the Pope himself, as well as his plenipotentiary, with mud of the dirtiest calumny, and injured themselves much more by their blind rage than by the whole of their former secret sins. Cardinal Saldanha felt himself now unable to institute a true matter-of-fact investigation, and while he found, as he himself expressed it, "with full certainty," that the Jesuits had turned their Colleges, Noviciates, and Residences into warehouses, counting-houses, and exchanges, he signed a decree on the 15th May, on the strength of which he interdicted them from all commerce, under the penalty of excommunication from the Church. Besides which, he caused, on the demand of Pombal, all their account-books to be put under a sealed cover, took away their magazines from them, and confiscated all their goods for the benefit of the Royal Exchequer.

Lastly, he came to an understanding with the Patriarch of Lisbon, the Archbishop Joseph Manuel Atalara, and the result of their mutual consultation was that the Patriarch, by a decree of the 7th June 1758, based on well-considered grounds which he did not wish to mention publicly, not only forbade the Jesuits to preach and confess throughout the whole of the Portuguese States, but also closed their Colleges and completely deprived them of the instruction of youth.

Once more, then, had Pombal carried off the victory, and once again had he made another step nearer to his goal, "Freedom of Portugal from the yoke of the Society of Jesus." There was still, however, much to overcome. On the other hand, the sons of Loyola did not allow their courage to yield, as an event now took place which, if properly made use of, would be of great advantage to them. On the 3rd of May 1758 Benedict XIV. died, and if they succeeded in placing upon the vacant Papal throne

one favourable to the Society of Jesus, the matter would then end favourably for them. The sons of Loyola now spared no exertions; they even spared no money, that they had hitherto loved so much, and they verily succeeded in influencing the votes of the greater part of the Cardinals, in order that Clement XIII. should carry the election. He was a weak, credulous, canting man, without much knowledge or intelligence, and not at all suited for such a high position, especially in those times of difficulty; but he was a most devoted friend to the Jesuits, and on that account he was elected. The latter now promised for themselves, under his régime, a new golden era, and it seemed that it would actually turn out to be so, as the first governmental act of the new Pope was the appointment of Cardinal Torregiani, a cousin of the Jesuit General Ricci, to be Secretary of State or Prime Minister of the Roman Curie. Immediately thereupon, on the 31st July, General Ricci presented to the Holy Chair a long defence of his Order, which was for no other purpose than to influence the Pope to annul the dispositions of his predecessor Benedict; and His Holiness, acting upon it, appointed a commission of Cardinals in order to submit to a new accurate investigation the whole of the Portuguese Jesuit affairs. The Commission, nevertheless, counselled against the desired revocation, as being adverse to the infallibility of the Pope, and, consequently, Ricci sustained defeat. The General now caused his defence to be printed and distributed everywhere, as he believed it would have the effect of triumphantly refuting and putting to silence all the complaints which had been raised against the Order in Portugal. The result, however, turned out quite differently from what he expected, as an answer was at once forthcoming which pointed out the gravest errors as to the truth of the alleged defence, and brought to light, still more than ever, the evil deeds of the Jesuits.

In the meantime, Pombal proceeded to expose the handiwork of the Jesuits in Portugal, and especially in the American colonies, and hardly did any ship arrive thence without bringing a couple of the Fathers who had been taken prisoners for high treason. This exasperated the rage of the Jesuits, and they at once seized every means of effecting the overthrow of the then Government of Portugal. They whispered into the ears of the high nobility

as to whether they would tolerate any longer the yoke of this parvenu, who had removed from their appointments the whole of the chief officials of the kingdom. They persuaded the clergy that Pombal was no more favourable to them than to the Society of Jesus, and every pulpit and confessional was made use of in order secretly to hound on the people against the minister as an enemy to religion. They promulgated the most prejudicial reports against the King himself, and they even did not refrain from charging him before the Judgment Seat of God; and, in order to complete the matter, they prophesied that the monarch would have but a very short term of life, fixing the end of his days definitively to be in the month of September 1758.\*

In this manner an artificial ferment was created in the minds of the Portuguese, which shortly so obtained the upper hand that, according to the judgment of the clear-sighted, a great catastrophe would not be long before taking place; and it actually so occurred—in a way, nevertheless, which had not been expected. In the night, between the 2nd and 3rd of September, as the King, Joseph I. of Braganza, was driving back to his Palace of Belem from that of the young Countess of Tavora, whom he frequently had been in the habit of visiting, three musket-shots were fired from an ambush, one of which wounded him severely in the arm; but no greater misfortune happened to him, as the coachman, as soon as he heard the crack, put his horses to the gallop, and drove to the neighbouring country-house of the Marquis of Angeya. The King there alighted, and after his wound had been dressed by the hastily-summoned body-surgeon, Antony Soarez, accompanied by the latter he proceeded to Belem to undergo there a three months' cure, during which time no one was allowed access to him except Soarez and his Prime Minister, the Marquis of Pombal, and occasionally his spouse the Queen, with his daughters the Princesses.

The report of this attempted murder of the ruler, of course, spread like wildfire, and at first it was the general opinion that the wound was dangerous to life. Consequently a number of

\* When the Jesuit Turoni was questioned in Rome, in August 1758, regarding the condition of the Order in Portugal, he answered, verbally, "All goes well, and, during the coming September, the affair will be arranged and a termination will be put to our trouble." It is also incontestably proved, that Father Malagrida wrote similar prophetic words to several persons of distinction.



the high nobility, as well as ecclesiastics, hastened to pay homage to the Crown Prince, Don Pedro, younger brother of the King, who, having only one daughter by his wife and no son, had therefore no successor; and more especially the heads of the Jesuits did this, as it was well known that the said Don Pedro, the proper successor of his brother, was a great friend and patron of the Society of Jesus, while he also mortally hated the Marquis of Pombal, their great antagonist. Already the destruction of the all-powerful favourite was predicted, and not a few dreamed of his removal by the hand of the executioner. Pombal now made it public that the King's physicians, although the wound was of a very serious nature, assured the safety of his life; but it was affirmed that this intimation was only a feint in order to deceive inquisitive people, and some continued to speculate on the downfall of the minister, and even to conspire against him. In the meantime the latter stood, as people soon found out, on a higher step of the ladder of power, as, of course, he did not omit to keep his royal master informed of everything that the party of Don Pedro did, and at once obtained from Joseph I., who had previously never thoroughly trusted his ambitious brother, whom he could not now view otherwise than as a plotter against the throne, the fullest powers to take the best measures for the security of the Crown.

What did the Prime Minister do now?

Before everything it was necessary for him to act so as to bring out who it was that had occasioned the attempt at murder, and, with this view, he had left no stone unturned to get at the truth. Still, all that had taken place on his part had been carried on in the deepest silence and in the greatest secrecy, those who were conscious of guilt being lulled into security, while for obvious reasons he did not suffer that any suspicion should be expressed, either on one side or the other, among those around him. In the beginning, the result of the investigation was but very insignificant and defective, as no other evidence was forthcoming than that of the royal coachman and a nobleman who lived in the neighbourhood of the place where the attempt at murder occurred. The latter, Don John de Lobo, had heard the shot, but, besides the sound of the royal carriage as it drove away, nothing further. The former, Custodio da Casta, had certainly seen distinctly three well-mounted men armed

with muskets, but, as they were provided with masks, and as it was at the time tolerably dark, it was impossible for him to give any other particulars. That was all that could with certainty be made out, and that this was but very little everyone may well admit. Still, if the actual facts that could be taken hold of failed, the field for conjecture and supposition was all the richer; and there were two views, in particular, which obtained favour. Some said that the attempt was nothing else than an act of private revenge. In other words, they thought that Don Luiz Bernard de Tavora was jealous that the King paid such frequent visits to his wife at night—she was called Donna Johanna Theresia, and was born Countess of Albor—that he was beside himself, and had laid in wait for the great personage, with some relations or servants, in order to murder him. Others, on the contrary—and they were supported by the half of Europe—held that the attack could only have been arranged by the Jesuits, or, at least, must have been concocted by them, as respecting the perpetration of such a wicked deed a good jurist asks at once, "*Cui prodest?*" i.e. "Who benefits?" and this question seldom fails to indicate the true authors of crime. Now, from the murder of the King, had it succeeded, the sons of Loyola would have gained great advantage, as, in that case, Don Pedro would have ascended the throne, in consequence of which a new era of good fortune would have dawned upon them. Anyone can draw a conclusion for himself, and I need not further here indicate it. The Marquis of Pombal was unable to decide for himself which of these two views might be the correct one, though he was still inclined, from various indications, to hold to the latter opinion, without, however, being able to arrive at any certainty. After the investigation had gone on for more than two months, he, at length, resorted to stratagem, which led him to the attainment of his end. He imagined that if the attempt had really been concocted by the Jesuits, they would certainly, by the first opportunity, cause their brethren in Brazil to become acquainted with the result of the scheme. On this account, at his request, a merchant fitted out a ship for Brazil; of course, however, without its being previously made known to anyone. This being effected, the merchant now announced that he was prepared to receive goods as well as passengers. As soon as the ship had

taken in its full cargo of wares, and passengers, and was in a position to set sail, the captain received a royal mandate, with instructions to open it only after he got to a certain distance from land. The captain did not, of course, know at the time what he was ordered to do. As soon, however, as in due course he read the document, he searched all letters and effects that were on board, and took possession of everything that was suspicious. He, besides, caused the whole of the passengers to be minutely inspected, and arrested every one regarding whom there was the slightest suspicion, in order to send him back at once to Lisbon, with the confiscated letters and effects. In this way important disclosures were obtained, and it may now be easily imagined how the necessary arrests were carried into execution. In order, however, to be able to effect this with perfect safety, Pombal collected several regiments of soldiers from outlying garrisons in Lisbon, on the pretence that this was done in order that they might be employed in rebuilding the houses which had been thrown down by the earthquake. On the 12th of December 1758 all measures were at length completed, and on the day following the capital of Portugal was to learn who it was that had, three months previously, attempted the life of King Joseph. The panic, however, was great on this being made known, as, although the names of several of those arrested had been whispered about as probably guilty, no one dreamed of the existence of such an extensive conspiracy.

But to proceed. On the 13th December 1758, at 4 o'clock in the morning, all the houses and palaces of both the noble families of Aveiro and Tavora were unexpectedly visited by a strong detachment of military, and the following persons were at once removed to the prisons assigned for their reception. To begin with: the Duke of Aveiro, high steward of the King, with his son, the Marquis of Sovora; then the old Marquis of Tavora, general of cavalry, and formerly Viceroy of India, and the young Marquis Luiz Bernard, with his younger brother, Joseph Maria; further, the two brothers of the old Marquis Emanuel, and Joseph Maria de Tavora, as well as Count de Atouguia and the Marquis d'Alorno, sons-in-law of the old Marquis; besides, Colonel Don Juan de Tavora, at Chaves, and Colonel Muno de Tavora, at Alentejo, with the Archbishop of Evora and the Bishop of Port-a-Port, two cousins of

the family; lastly, the whole of the household and domestics, except those who had succeeded in making their escape by flight, as, for instance, the confidential chamberlain of the Duke of Aveiro, Joseph Polycarpio de Azevedo. All of them were chained, hands and feet, and brought into the former Zoological Garden at Belem, on the Tagus. Besides the male prisoners, for these alone were not considered sufficient, several females were seized, namely, the old Marchioness of Tavora, with her daughters, who were confined in the cloister "Do Grillo"; then the Duchess of Aveiro, with her daughters, who were brought into the cloister "Della Madra de Deos"; and, lastly, the young Marchioness of Tavora, the above-named Donna Johanna Theresia, whom the King used to be so much pleased to see. The latter was treated with the greatest politeness, and was accorded the noble female cloister of Dos Santos as a residence, where she was at liberty to go out and in as she pleased, as well as to receive visits. Those were the persons who were apprehended on the morning of the 18th, and conducted to prison; all, as may be observed, belonging to the highest rank of nobility.

While this important matter was being accomplished, the seven houses which the Jesuits possessed in Lisbon were each surrounded by a guard of fifteen soldiers, besides officers and corporals, and no one was allowed to enter without having permission from the Council of State; besides which, an order was issued by Cardinal Saldanha that no member of the Order of Jesus should, until further orders, cross the threshold of his house; and thus from this time forward the whole of the Jesuits then present in Lisbon were nothing better than prisoners, only with the difference that they were not fettered but allowed to go free about the interior of their homes. The examination of the prisoners proceeded on the 20th December 1758, and before the so-called tribunal "Da Inconfidencia," which is the highest secular court of justice in Portugal. Moreover, many sittings were not required in order to arrive at a result, as the Duke of Aveiro at once confessed everything, and consequently the denial of the others was of no avail. Equally open confessions were made by Beaz Joseph Romeiro, the confidential servant of the Marquis Luiz Bernard de Tavora, and Antonio Alvarez Fereira, as, also, by his brother Manuel, both chamber servants of the Duke of Aveiro, and, lastly, by his body page,

Juan Miguel. From these confessions it became quite clear that the intention was the murder of the reigning King. It was especially rendered clear that the old Marchioness Eleonora de Tavora was the person who hounded on her husband, sons, and relations, day by day, and that she had made her hotel a veritable den of conspiracy. She, again, had been influenced by the Jesuits, especially by the Fathers Malagrida, Mattos, and Alexander de Souza, the Father Confessors of the family of Tavora, so that, morally, the chief originators were in reality the sons of Loyola. In consequence of this, the tribunal determined that the most guilty of them should be put in confinement, and caused this order to be carried out in the night of the 11th and 12th January 1759, by some senators with picquets of cavalry. Those arrested were as follows: Joseph Moreire, former Father Confessor of the King; Hyacinth da Costa, former Father Confessor of the Queen; Timothy d'Oliveira, Father Confessor of the Princesses; Joseph Pardigao, Procurator-General of the Order in Portugal; Joseph Soarez, Procurator of Brazil; J. Henriquez, Provincial of Portugal; Gabriel Malagrida, John de Mattos, John Alexander de Souza, Stephan Lopez, and Joseph Oliveira, hitherto Father Confessors of the families of Tavora and Aveiro. They were brought before the same Court of Justice, "Da Inconfidencia," which had conducted the investigation into the families of Tavora and Aveiro, and their examination commenced early on the 12th. The said tribunal did not, of course, abstain on account of this newly-instituted inquiry from promulgating their sentence on those already arrested, whose trial had come to a termination, and of ordering the same to be at once carried into execution. It sentenced ten of the same to death, confiscation of their estates and destitution of their children, while the remainder got off with imprisonment. The punishment of the Jesuits came off later. On the other hand, the tribunal at once declared distinctly that they were to be regarded, from the confessions of the conspirators, as the chief authors of the attempted murder. After the proclamation of this sentence, which was at once printed in order that it should be sent abroad throughout the world,\* the carrying out

\* The document was translated into all the European languages, and also appeared, in the year 1759, in German, at Frankfurt, under the title of *The Portuguese High Treason, and the Trial of the Condemned and Executed Persons*, as it was publicly made known to the Court itself.

of it was immediately proceeded with ; and with this object a scaffold eighteen feet in height was erected in the market-place of Lisbon, during the night of the 13th, round which was drawn up a cordon of military. Precisely at 7 o'clock in the morning, the old Marchioness of Tavora, as the most guilty, was brought upon the scene, her hands bound, and a rope round her neck. She was placed on a chair, and her eyes being bound, the executioner struck her head off without the previous utterance by her of any complaint. After her came the twenty-one-year-old son, Joseph Maria de Tavora. They bound him on a cross raised aloft, broke his arms and legs with iron clubs, and then strangled him with a rope. The same fate befell Jeronimo de Ataide, Count of Atouguia, the young Marquis Luiz Bernard de Tavora, colonel of cavalry, his servant Blasius Joseph Romeiro, Corporal Emanuel Alvarez Fereira, valet of the Duke of Aveira, and the body-page, John Michael. Their corpses were all flattened upon wheels, which were placed on poles, and this proceeding took up so much time that fully half an hour elapsed before another execution could be proceeded with. After the page Miguel or Michael, the executioner took the old Francis d'Assis de Tavora, bound him on a St. Andrew's cross, gave him three blows on the chest with an iron rod that resounded to a distance, shattered his arms and legs, and then gave him his *coup de grace* through the heart. The executioner's men then, amidst wild shrieks, shattered the arms, legs, and thighs of the ninth victim, the old Duke of Aveiro, while still alive, then killed him by a blow on the chest, and threw him into a blazing fire. Finally, the tenth delinquent, the valet Anton Alvarez Fereira, brother of the above-mentioned Emanuel, was conducted before the corpses of the nine who had been previously executed, each one being shown to him ; he was then bound to a stake, round which was placed a heap of wood, and this being set fire to, was raked together until he was completely consumed. In this manner were punished ten of those who, it was known for certain, had taken an immediate part in the attempt to murder. When the execution was over, the scaffold, together with all the dead bodies, was set on fire and burnt to ashes, which were thrown into the Tagus. Lastly, the palaces of the high nobility who had been executed were pulled to pieces and levelled to the ground, and salt strewed on the

places where they had stood, as a sign that they should never be built up again.

We now return to the Jesuits, eleven of the most guilty of whom had been in prison, well guarded, since the 12th January 1759; the remainder were shut in their houses and watched by soldiers. But with this Pombal could not be satisfied, as half measures were of no use. Consequently a Royal Edict appeared six days after the 12th January, which commanded that all the movable and immovable property of the sons of Loyola, together with all their rents, incomes, and pensions, should be confiscated, and all intercourse between them and the inhabitants of Portugal should cease. This edict was carried out with the greatest strictness, and was productive of a large sum of money to the State. In the Mission Treasury of the Hospitium to the Holy Borgia, was found so much ready-money that its removal required fifteen days to effect, and if in the remaining Jesuit houses the stores of money were less considerable than it was hoped, such a mass of sugar, cocoa, vanille, and similar articles was found, that the selling by auction of the same took up whole weeks. At the same time as the Confiscation Edict appeared, Pombal caused a pamphlet to be distributed far and wide among the people, which revealed the godless and rebellious ideas which the Jesuits had instilled into the evil-doers who had been executed, and called for support on his behalf from the high ecclesiastics of Portugal against the conduct of the Society of Jesus. The whole of the bishops of the country promised to comply; and as many of them issued pastoral Briefs in which the injurious and shameful actions of the sons of Loyola were enumerated in strong words, the common people began by degrees to give up holding the estimation they always attached to the Society of Jesus. Lastly, while this end was attained, the Portuguese Government applied to the Pope in Rome, in order that his Holiness, as supreme judge and ruler over the whole Catholic clergy, should give his approval to all that had already been done, as well as to further measures to be carried out. The document referring to this was despatched to Rome on the 20th April 1759, and Pombal gave his Holiness to understand therein that his King and master had the intention of removing from his States the whole of the Jesuits, as there was no longer any hope of protecting himself from their intrigues

and snares by any milder measures. Pombal, however, did not do this without exhibiting to the Roman Curie, in a very comprehensive memorandum, complete proof of these machinations and intrigues; nor did he omit to explain what injurious and treasonable plans the sons of Loyola had carried on in Paraguay, and how they had advanced audacious calumnies against facts hitherto proved; he did not fail, too, to transmit proofs that these Fathers, after their dismissal from the Court as Father Confessors, and after having been interdicted by an edict of the Patriarch of Lisbon, from the duties of confession and preaching, contrived a shameful conspiracy against the life of the monarch, through which they wished to bring about a change in the government of Portugal by force, for their profit. Supported by the latter documents, Pombal then, lastly, demanded a Papal Brief which should empower him to deliver over to secular tribunals ecclesiastics who had been proved to be guilty of high treason against the King and State; as the sons of Loyola possessed, according to their statutes, the so-called *Immunitas Ecclesiastica*, that is exemption or freedom from ordinary law ordinances in the fullest sense of the word, and should they, therefore, be brought to trial without the Papal authorization previously obtained, opposition might cause the verdict to be afterwards cancelled. Immediately on receipt of the above-mentioned despatches, Francis de Almada de Mendoza, Portuguese Ambassador accredited to the Court of Rome, delivered them to the Papal Curie, and everyone was in the highest degree anxious to know what answer would be given to the same. Those who were best instructed in the matter might easily imagine, beforehand, what must be the consequence, because they well knew what a weak man Pope Clement XIII. was, and how he allowed himself to be governed in all things by Cardinal Torregiani, the Secretary of State, who was nearly related to Ricci, the General of the Jesuits. In fact, Clement XIII. answered in a purely Jesuitical manner. The Papal Brief, dated the 11th August, addressed direct to the King of Portugal, was extremely evasive, and after extolling the Jesuits generally, with the most superabundant praise, only begged the monarch to exercise moderation towards the sons of Loyola implicated in the trial for attempted murder, and especially to spare their lives; but a Brief of a very different kind was despatched, at



the same time, from Rome to the Papal Ambassador in Lisbon, the Nuncio Acciajuoli, as in this document the latter was instructed not to give in one foot's breadth regarding the Jesuit matters to the secular Government of Portugal. Indeed, it was too clearly evident from the same—Pombal contrived to obtain for himself a copy of it—how the Jesuit party, at that time all-powerful in Rome, audaciously laboured to bring about a breach between the Pope and the Crown of Portugal, under the firm conviction that the King, from fear of a revolution, would dismiss Pombal from the Government, as he was so hated by the well-disposed Catholic Portuguese people.

With the same object, also, the Nuncio Acciajuoli placed himself secretly in intimate communication with the highest nobility of Portugal, and influenced even those immediately belonging to the Court, *i.e.* those of royal blood who were still devoted inwardly heart and soul to the Jesuits. In short, a great stroke was in contemplation, which should raise the sons of Loyola again to their supremacy in Portugal; but Pombal was alive to their machinations. He categorically demanded, through the Ambassador Almada, a distinct declaration from the Papal Curie whether or not they would agreeably accede to his just demands, and as such declaration was not given, but, on the other hand, as the audience demanded of the Pope by the Ambassador was declined, the energetic minister resolved to take the matter into his own hands. In other words, he determined to put into prison, of his own accord, all the most guilty among the Jesuits who lived either in Portugal or its colonies, without any further regard to the Roman Court, and to banish for ever and ever out of the State the remainder who were less implicated, interdicting their return at any time, either secretly or openly, under threats of most severe punishment.

The necessary decree was drawn up and signed by the King on the 3rd September 1759. Pombal, however, still delayed for fourteen days before publishing and bringing it into operation, doubtless in the expectation of the receipt of more favourable news from Rome. As, however, such did not arrive, and as the danger by which he was surrounded increased continually more and more, he no longer hesitated over the matter, and without trembling passed the Rubicon. Indeed, he burnt the bridge after him, in order that he should

not be able to return, and the sons of Loyola now, for the first time, became convinced of the gigantic power of their enemy. The language, indeed, which Pombal employed in the decree against them was one of annihilation. After minutely enumerating all the disgraceful acts and crimes of which the Jesuits had been guilty in Portugal against the King and State, and bringing forward the necessary proof of everything stated, he caused the monarch to ordain, "in order to protect my royal honour, which is equally the life and soul of the whole monarchy; in order to maintain uninjured my independence as sovereign and ruler; in order to remove from the midst of my dominions such extraordinary and great vexation, and to shield my subjects from similar frightful occurrences with their sad results, I declare the so-called ecclesiastics—the Jesuits, namely—to be thoroughly corrupt, and to have receded from the rules of their Holy Order, and from deeply-rooted depravity to have become completely incapable of ever again learning to observe them; I declare them to be notorious rebels, traitors, enemies, and disturbers of the peace, who have opposed, and will again oppose, my royal person and Government, the public peace of my kingdom, and the general welfare of my subjects, and, therefore order that each and every one of them may be looked upon as rebels and traitors, and treated as such. On the strength of this I declare them to be denaturalised, exiled, outlawed, and banished, and decree that they shall be expelled from all my kingdoms and lordships, without ever again, at any time, being allowed to return. I charge, lastly, all my subjects, of whatever condition and calling they may be, under irrevocable punishment of death and confiscation of goods for the benefit of my Treasury, that they give no shelter to any, not even a single one, of these said expelled ecclesiastics, and do not hold any communication with them or entertain any intercourse whatever with them, either verbally or by letter, or through a third person. I command Doctor Emanuel Gomez de Carvalho, as Senator of the Palace and High Chancellor of my kingdom, to make known this law now enacted, and to transmit the same in writing to all tribunals, capitals of provinces, and other towns in my dominions, in order that it be therein recorded."

Thus ran the decree which banished all the Jesuits out of the Portuguese states, and it must be admitted that it

could not have been conceived in more energetic language. The carrying out of the decree must needs, therefore, be proceeded with no less energetically, and on the 17th September the first ship, freighted with 320 Jesuits, sailed out of the Tagus, bound for Civita-Vecchia in the States of the Church. Thither had Pombal determined to send the sons of Loyola, in order that they might all of them be able to gather round their old friend and protector the Pope. The second transport took its departure on the 7th October with 170 Jesuits, and there followed in succession, at stated periods of time, five other transports, which carried in all about twelve hundred sons of Loyola to the States of the Church.

In vain did the good Fathers hope that the people over whose minds they had so long ruled would rise, and by a revolution neutralise Pombal's act of violence. Not one single hand was lifted in their behalf, and in several places their memory was even execrated.

The expulsion of the Jesuits out of the whole of Portugal was thus quietly effected, and after the lapse of a year this kingdom saw itself completely freed from the black cohort. Yet, no; I am wrong in saying this, as Pombal retained part of them, the most dangerous and most guilty ones. There were, besides the eleven whom I have named above, still 113 others, for the most part provincials, procurators, rectors, and personages of mark, who had been kept in the fortress of St. Julian, situated upon a rock in the sea, about three hours sail from Lisbon.\* Thirty-nine of these died there between 1759 and 1777, most of them at a great age; thirty-six were transferred to Italy in the year 1767, among their brethren who had preceded them; and the rest, with the exception of one in particular, who was brought to trial, were allowed to go free without further punishment after the death of King Joseph. The particular individual in question was Father Gabriel Malagrida, of whom mention has frequently been made, one of the most influential of the

\* Among them were found Jesuits of all nations, and especially the following Germans:—Rutger Hundt, from the Lower Rhine; Francis Wolf, from Bohemia; Ignatius Szentmartonyi, an Austrian; Martin Schwarz, from Upper Germany; Joseph Kuyling, Austrian; Moriz Thoma, from Augsburg; Jacob Müller, from the Lower Rhine; Jacob Delsart, from Alsace; Lorenzo Kaulen, from the Lower Rhine; Antony Münsterburg and Anselm Eckart, both from the Upper Rhine; John Koffler, from Prague; Jacob Graf, from the Lower Rhine; John Brauer, from Westphalia; and Matthias Filler, Austrian.



*Expulsion of the Jesuits.*



sons of Loyola in Lisbon, to whom was attributed the chief guilt respecting the attempt on the King's life of the 3rd September 1758. But as the Pope of Rome did not authorise the Marquis of Pombal "to place ecclesiastics before secular tribunals on account of secular crimes," the old man of seventy-two was handed over to the despotic tribunal of the Holy Inquisition, which sentenced him to death by fire on account of heresy and other misdeeds. He underwent this punishment on the 20th September 1761, as the King did not feel himself at liberty to pardon him; but as he alone of all his associates had expiated his offence with his life, it was not to be wondered at that the fraternity gave him out to be a holy martyr and honoured him as such.

Such was the fate of the Jesuits in Portugal, and it must be remarked as extraordinary that such an expulsion should take place from a Court which had so slavishly obeyed them for centuries. But the possibility of such being brought about was alone owing to the circumstance that a Marquis de Pombal conducted the government, as it was only a man of his energy, genius, and iron will, that could dare to bid defiance to an Order which, up to that time, had the credit of being the oracle of the kings and the idol of the people. Naturally enough, now, the consequence of such a bold step could be no other than a shriek of rage on the part of the whole Society of Jesus, and their General from this time forth continually kept dinning into the ears of the Pope, Clement XIII., that an interdict should at once be imposed upon the kingdom of Portugal. This, however, the Holy Father did not dare to do, as the more sensible of the Cardinals gave him to understand that the times of a Hildebrand were now gone by, and that the nations would no longer trouble themselves much about a Bull of Excommunication. On the other hand, a still greater evil might easily arise out of such behaviour, as it might occur to the Marquis of Pombal to make Portugal quite independent of Rome, with its own proper Church government under a Lusitanian Patriarch. The contemplated excommunication, therefore, remained in abeyance, but, none the less, a breach of the peace between Rome and Portugal occurred on that account.

On the 5th July 1760, the Portuguese ambassador accompanied by all his countrymen, quitted Rome, as he was no longer

able to bear the insults of the Jesuits ; and some weeks previous, owing to a want of courtesy towards the royal house, Pombal, on the 15th June, gave the Papal Nuncio his passports, with an intimation that he must quit the country within four days. With the departure of the two ambassadors, the connection of Portugal and the States of the Church was completely severed, and the Jesuits took care to prevent any reconciliation as long as Clement XIII. lived. The fools thought that no Catholic State would be able to exist without a Pope, and that sooner or later the King of Portugal must cringe to the Cross ; but the State of Portugal continued to exist, and Don Joseph I. did not bow to the Holy See, notwithstanding that, for eight years, the Pope, so to speak, did not exist in Portugal.

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## CHAPTER V.

DON PEDRO PABLO ABARACA DE BOLEA, COUNT OF ARANDA ;  
OR, THE ABOLITION OF JESUIT NESTS IN SPAIN.

WE have already shown in the Second Book how the Jesuits in Spain became quite an extraordinary power under King Philip II., and if later on they somewhat lost ground, because the Dominicans, with their Inquisition, opposed them, there still remained to them their great riches which they had accumulated, as well as frequently their extraordinary influence over the retainers of the Court, and even over the rulers themselves. It is true, indeed, that in the middle of the 18th century there still ruled in Spain kings, from Philip II. onwards, whose minds were darkened completely by bigotry, and if, perhaps, Philip V. formed somewhat an exception, on account of the influence of his jovial and sprightly, although otherwise very pious, and as regards the Church well-disposed wife, Queen Elizabeth, born a princess of the House of Parma, this ray of light was again extinguished with the accession to the throne of Ferdinand VI., the son of Philip and Elizabeth. The latter, a man afflicted with melancholy, possessed so little mental power, that he was not in a position to overcome the suggestions of his Father Confessor, a Dominican, whose influence, however, was paralysed here and there by the power which his mother exercised over him. What about this Queen-mother, however? Owing to her piety, which towards the end of her life developed into regular bigotry, she had fallen more and more into the hands of the Jesuits, and, consequently,



all measures of government were dictated either by the Dominicans, that is, by the King's Father Confessor, or by the Order of Jesus, that is by the Father Confessor of the Queen-mother. On this account it arose that the highly treasonable conduct of the sons of Loyola in Paraguay, from which country the Crown of Spain derived as much advantage as that of Portugal, did not produce by any means such bad blood at the former as at the latter Court, an inclination being displayed to substitute grace for justice. Indeed, the half-demented King allowed himself to be persuaded to give credit to the suggestions of the Fathers, that "the Marquis of Baldilrios, who acted, as we have before seen, as Spanish Commissary and General, in regard to the well-known Paraguay boundary regulation question, was an enemy of the Order of Jesus, and wished to bring ruin on this so thoroughly innocent Society by lies and calumnies."

So the monarch, in the year 1757, sent Don Pedro Cavaglios, a man devoted through and through to the Jesuits, to his South American colonies, in order to subject the Jesuitical doings there to another trial. How he conducted himself can be well imagined, and the result was that, although the King's minister, the Duke of Alba, perceived that the memorandum of Cavaglios was but a romance written in favour of the Jesuits, the Spanish ruler could never be brought to allow of a thorough investigation being instituted in regard to the Jesuitical disturbance in Paraguay. On this account, also, as long as Ferdinand VI. lived, the sons of Loyola in Spain were never brought to punishment for the crimes committed by them beyond the sea, solemnising, in fact, a regular triumph, while, in the neighbouring Portugal, they were subjected to strict imprisonment or transported out of the country.

Still more gloriously did they unfurl their standard, as, after the death of Ferdinand, the Queen Elizabeth long retained the reins of government, until her second son, the future King Charles III., who had hitherto ruled over Naples and Sicily, arrived in Madrid; the marriage of her first-born with the Portuguese Princess Anna Barbara had been without issue, while the latter also died before her husband, so Elizabeth did everything that her beloved Fathers required of her. Indeed, she went so far as to cause the pamphlets written in Portugal by direction of Pombal, in which the sons of Loyola were proved to have instigated

the rebellion against the Spanish as well as the Portuguese Crown in South America, to be burnt publicly in Madrid by the executioner, and, moreover, by her express command, the Holy Inquisition had to prepare a regular decree of commendation as regards the Society of Jesus. To the great misfortune of the said Order, however, the government of their exalted protectress did not last even one whole year, as Charles III. took possession of his newly-inherited throne at the beginning of 1760, and this Prince, unfortunately—that is, for the Jesuits—allowed it to be seen at once, from the commencement, that he was by no means disposed to follow in the footsteps of his brother Ferdinand, nor yet, indeed, of his mother Elizabeth. His friend was the enlightened Marquis of Montallegre, with whom he had read already, with uplifted eyes—oh, frightful crime!—the nefarious *Monita ad Principes*, of which mention has been made in the Fifth Book. Besides, did he not possess for Father Confessor, in the Franciscan Joseph Elela, Bishop of Osma, a confirmed enemy of the Jesuits? Yes. Did he not decide, too, at the commencement of his reign, against the fraternity in the great strife between the Chapter of the Metropolitan Church of Mexico and Puebla de los Angeles, on one side, and the Order of Jesus on the other? Certainly from such a ruler it was impossible for the sons of Loyola to promise anything good for themselves, and they contemplated, also, the future with timid countenances. It is certainly true that open measures were not taken against them at the first, and they were allowed, as heretofore, to remain at peace; they dared also to preach, teach, and hear confessions at Court, exactly as during the time of the Queen-mother. On the other hand, it did not escape their observation that all their proceedings were everywhere watched with keen eyes, and this manifest supervision distressed them much more, indeed, than even if an open storm had overtaken them. Was it, perhaps, that proofs were quietly sought for against them, in order that they might be sharply attacked, as had already occurred in Portugal? It almost appeared to be so, as in the surrounding of the King not a single Jesuit was to be found, not even a friend of theirs, with the single exception of Father Bramieri, the Father Confessor of the Queen-mother. Many, too, were the enemies of the Society, if one, indeed, might consider as such all those who were enlightened. Thus the

King did not hesitate to confide the important office of Fiscal of the High Council of Castille, in the year 1762, to Pedro Rodriguez, Count of Campomanes, who had a great reputation for heresy, while the minister Gregory, Marquis of Squillens, with many other high officials, did not certainly belong to the strong believers. In short, it began to appear every moment more serious for the sons of Loyola at the Court of Madrid, and when they at length learned, beyond doubt, that the Bishop Roxas, another confidant of Charles III., had in a select company approved, in candidly expressed terms, the conduct of Pombal in regard to the Jesuits, there remained no longer any doubt among the latter what was in store for them. But what remedy was there for it? For, in regard to this, how could it be cleared up, all the more as they had given no reason to the King to warrant such boldness and craft. Towards the end of Lent 1766, a peculiar kind of commotion was observed among the lower orders in Madrid, and not infrequently slight disturbances took place in the evening. Not the less did it turn out that the sons of Loyola gave themselves particular trouble to entice into the so-called congregations instituted by them, of which mention has been previously made, working men and servants of all kinds, and, indeed, even people of suspicious calling, as, for instance, thieves and the like, and they were observed, too, to visit the gaols, in order to undertake spiritual exercises with the prisoners there. What could have been the object? It could be nothing else than to acquire a right good influence over the lower classes of the population of Madrid, and, as a matter of fact, this power increased considerably day by day. Marvellously, however, in the same proportion that the influence of the Jesuits increased, the crowds of common people also swelled in like degree, and the Government, so far as the police were concerned, frequently had trouble in dispersing the populace, in spite of the assistance of the military. At length, in the night of the 23rd of March, an insurrection broke out, and great crowds collected together in all quarters of the city, which, whilst penetrating into private houses amidst wild cries, in order to plunder, rolled towards the royal palace. They carried with them stones and clubs, and not a few of them had provided themselves also with weapons, and when they arrived before the closed gates of the palace, they began to

bombard them, madly shouting at the same time, "Down with Gregory! Long live Enzenada! Out with the scoundrel of a Father Confessor! Long live the holy Fathers of the Order of Jesus!" The rebels evidently had a political aim, which was, indeed, no other than to effect a change of Government in favour of the sons of Loyola, as Enzenada was a minister who had been discharged on account of his friendship for the Jesuits, whereas the King's Father Confessor and the minister Gregory were well known as enemies of the Jesuits. Of course, the whole of the available royal troops were at once called into requisition in order to disperse the ringleaders; but in vain. The troops were too weak, the crowds of people too strong, and it was feared that the whole of Madrid would be set on fire if serious resistance were offered. Charles III. proceeded to fly to Aranjuez, and thither the whole Court followed him, with all who had reason to believe that the vengeance of the people might extend also to them. Thereupon the King was urged to remove the most hated among his present counsellors, in order to appease the revolted city, and Charles III. at once saw that he would be obliged to give in about this. He, therefore, dismissed the minister of the day, Gregory, together with Bishop Roxas, and, on the other hand, sent for the Count of Aranda, the Governor-General of Valentia, in order to form a new ministry. He did not do this, however, in any way because Aranda happened to be a friend of the Jesuits, but because he knew him to be a shrewd man of culture, of whom one might be convinced beforehand that he would steer the rudder of the State with extraordinary power. The first thing, then, that the new minister proposed to do, was to surround himself at once with men only of the same character, as, for instance, the Count Pilo, Don Pablo Olavides; and secondly, by the proclamation of a general amnesty, he brought the capital, which was highly jubilant at the dismissal of Gregory and Roxas, to a state of complete quietude. The amnesty, however, was not intended to be thoroughly general, as the heads and originators of the revolt were excluded therefrom, and an especial court of investigation, of which Aranda himself was president, was appointed to search into the matter. A number of witnesses were now examined, partly indeed from amongst mere spectators, and partly also from those who had taken a share in the disturbance. He, also, did not avail him-

self of torture in order to get at the truth, but contented himself with voluntary admissions and answers. What now came out, however? Behold, it was this, that the chief leaders of the uproar, besides the Marquis of Baldeflores, a man inflamed with a wild feeling of revenge, were no other than the three Jesuit Fathers, Isidor Lopez, Michael Benavente, and Ignatius Gonzalez. This was proved by the most positive assurance of highly respectable men, such as, for instance, Don Sylvester Palamarez, Benedetto Navarro, Juan Barracan, and others, and it was likewise known that different Jesuits, although well disguised, were engaged in the thickest of the crowd during the revolt, inciting and encouraging the people. This was an uncomfortable discovery for the good Fathers; it was, indeed, more than uncomfortable, and it came more and more to be suspected that this revolt was got up, not merely for the removal of a particularly obnoxious minister, but for something else, indeed, of much greater importance, the deposition, namely, of the King himself. That the Order of Jesus might be firmly established, what had taken place was not alone sufficient; their aim could only be effected by getting rid of the Monarch, who had been from the first opposed to the Order. In other words, he must be compelled to abdicate in favour of his younger brother, the Infant Don Louis, a prince who was most enthusiastic for the Jesuits. Plans such as these which the sons of Loyola had in their heads, came out more and more distinctly during the course of the investigation; and was it now a wonder, under such circumstances, when some members of the Council of State itself, in relation to this Jesuitical high treason, gave it as their opinion, in the presence of the King, that peace and security for the State could only be obtained by expelling the Jesuits from Spain? A formal proposition was, certainly, not brought forward, and still less was any resolution come to on the matter; but the thing was so thoroughly discussed that the King himself became penetrated with the conviction "that the expulsion of the sons of Loyola was the sole radical means that could be of any avail." On the other hand, his mother Elizabeth, as soon as she heard a whisper of the matter, stepped energetically into the lists for the Society of Jesus, with the object of making her son waver, through her extraordinary power of eloquence. Indeed, she was so far successful as to infuse some distrust into him of the men to whom

he had for the present given his confidence, such as Aranda, Campomanes, Olavides, d'Ossun, Alba, Florida-Blanca, and whatever they might be called ; and it almost appeared as if the light which had now begun to dawn over Spain would be again extinguished. But, behold ! while the investigation as to the revolt was proceeding, the old Queen-mother died, so that there was nothing more to fear from her influence, and, at the same time, a discovery was made by which the impossibility of allowing the sons of Loyola to exist any longer became perfectly clear to Charles III. Through the vigilance of Count Aranda he succeeded in arresting a messenger who had with him a letter from the General of the Order, Ricci, directed to the Provincial of Toledo, which contained a plan to drive from the throne the reigning King, under the pretence of his being a bastard, and to put in his place the Infant Louis. It was further found, on a domiciliary search being made at the residence of the Procurator-General of the Jesuits in Madrid, that there was a printed paper in which the same theme was treated of, and in which it was attempted to be proved that Charles III. was no son of his reputed father, Philip V., but the fruit of a love affair which the late Queen Elizabeth had cherished with Cardinal Alberoni. Finally, two Jesuits were arrested, close on the French frontier, whose intention it was to proceed from Madrid to Rome, and, on search being made in their travelling bags, a packet was found addressed to the General of the Order, Ricci, which contained two copies of the above-mentioned highly treasonable document.

There was now more than sufficient proof of what had been intended by the sons of Loyola, and it is obvious that, in the present position of the matter, no other course remained open to King Charles than to wage war against the Society of Jesus. His Crown, his honour, as well as that of his deceased mother, were at stake—the same lady who had shown such infinite kindness to the Jesuits, and who now, in the grave, reaped such a reward. The affair must be proceeded with, and they must be punished, and, indeed, in an exemplary manner ! But how was the work to be set about ? Somewhat in the same way as Pombal had done in Portugal—by a public trial ? It would have been easy to institute this, and to have proved the crimes of the sons of Loyola over and over again ; but then it would have been

necessary to go into the bastard question, and, although it was all a Jesuitical invention, it would have given rise to a monstrous scandal. Campomanes and Mognino, the two Crown Fiscals, and at the same time the greatest juridical notabilities of Spain, on this account, advised another course of procedure; and of this the whole Council of State approved, as well as the juridical faculty of Alcala, who were privately consulted on the subject. In other words, a resolution was come to, on the 28th February 1767, to banish, then and for ever, the Society of Jesus, as being generally injurious and highly treasonable, out of all the possessions of the Spanish monarchy, and to recommend to Count Aranda to carry out this resolution forthwith. Moreover, the whole of the members of the Council of State took an oath to the King not to breathe a word or give the slightest hint of what was in contemplation, but, on the contrary, to preserve towards the Jesuits a perfectly easy demeanour, in order that the blow against them might be all the more certain of being successful. As soon as all this was clearly determined, Count Aranda set himself about carrying into effect the proposition resolved upon, and he did so in such a way, indeed, that no one could withhold admiration. All the superior Spanish officials in the whole of the Spanish monarchy, as well as all the military commandants in the towns in which there existed Jesuitical colleges, residencies, or houses of other description, at once received packets, the contents of which were precisely the same, and provided with the King's seal; the contents thereof were extremely mysterious, as, upon the packet being opened, another was found provided with three seals, together with an open note, in which the following words were to be read:

"On pain of death you shall not open the document provided with three seals, previous to the 2nd of April, at the hour of sunset, and the same punishment will await you, if anyone, be he whom he may, discloses his having received a secret writing."

Precisely similar instructions were forwarded to all the prefects, governors, and commandants, in the different colonies of Asia and America, only, of course, in this case, owing to the far distance of the localities, the date of the opening was necessarily deferred. One may well imagine the anxiety that existed among those officials and commandants on their receiving

this remarkable document, and, not the less may it be supposed, how difficult it was for them to restrain their anxiety; but they all did so, without a single exception, and the secret remained inviolate up till the 2nd April. As soon, however, as the sun went down on that day, all these secret packets were opened at the same time, and what was now their astonishment when the matter in question became known to them! Among other things, the document ran as follows:

“I convey to you herewith all my authority and Royal power; as soon as you have opened this document you will at once summon all the troops, and, accompanied by them, you will immediately betake yourself to the house or college of the Jesuits. Having arrived there, you shall place a sentinel at the door; you shall awaken all the members of the Society, one with another, out of their sleep, and arrest them. Thereupon you shall seal, with the Royal seal, the archives and magazines, take the whole books and papers which may be found there into safe keeping, and intimate to the Jesuits that they must follow you without daring to take anything away with them except their prayer-books, mantles, and hats, and whatever linen may be required for a long journey. As soon as you have requisitioned a sufficient number of carriages, you shall place the Jesuits therein and convey them to the seaport I here point out to you. There, ships shall be already in waiting to transport the Fathers to their destination, and as soon as you have delivered over your prisoners to the captains, your responsibility shall be at an end. But this, however, I must tell you, that after the embarkation of the Fathers, if a single one of the Society—the sick not even excepted—be found in your department or province, you shall atone for this by death. Yo el Rey, that is, I, the King.”

Thus ran the order which the governors and superior officials received from the Government, and that they strictly carried out the same may be well understood. In this manner were the whole of the sons of Loyola, throughout all Spain, numbering about six thousand, arrested at the same hour, that is, about midnight on the 2nd April 1767, and a few days afterwards they all found themselves, without exception, on the ships already prepared for them. It was a master-stroke, the like of which had never before been seen, and the whole of Christendom were



so astonished thereat that it could not for a long time recover itself. The King, on this account, now found it necessary to make public the reasons for which he had perpetrated this great deed, and thus at once that celebrated decree called "The Pragmatic Sanction" made its appearance, in which the expulsion of the sons of Loyola, and the confiscation of their whole property, was authorised. Besides, the Pope was immediately informed, by special courier, of what had taken place, and it was declared to him that it was only from the direst necessity that this had been done. But what did all these representations signify?

The laity perceived that the ruler of Spain could not have acted differently; that he had, indeed, proceeded even very leniently against a Society which had tried to rob him of his honour, and, at the same time, of his throne, when he merely expelled them from the country and confiscated their possessions. The Pope, on the other hand, with his congenial clergy, became quite beside himself from terror and confusion, and many even, as, for instance, the General Ricci, fainted. So soon, however, as the first impression was got over, rage and fury took its place, and they would gladly have ushered the King of Spain into eternity. As, however, this could not be done, his Holiness at once addressed a letter to the said Monarch, on the 16th April, in which the latter, by the welfare of his soul which stood in great danger, was conjured to withdraw the measures which had been taken against the Jesuits, as there did not exist a more guiltless, more useful, more pious, and more holy society than theirs. But King Charles, after he had previously deliberated with his counsellors, replied shortly and concisely that he abided by the expulsion of the Jesuits and that he would not depart from his resolution; and, as the Papal Court threatened that the expelled Jesuits would not be received into the Roman States, but would be sent back again to Spain, he, on that account, assigned to each of the 6,000 exiles a yearly income of 100 piasters for life, to be paid to them in ready-money until the last of the Spanish Jesuits had died out. None of them, however, dared to return again to Spain as long as Charles III. and his son, Charles IV., governed.

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## CHAPTER VI.

## REGICIDES IN FRANCE.

IN no country in the world did the sons of Loyola bring their theory of regicide more into practice than in France, as in no other land were their interests so often and so greatly at stake as in Gaul. The reader knows, from what has gone before, that the Jesuits, towards the end of the 16th century, formed the plan of uniting the whole of European Christendom into one universal monarchy under the sceptre of the House of Hapsburg, which was totally dependent on them, and which already in those days had possession of a great part of the world, namely, Spain, Portugal, Lower Italy, the Netherlands, Germany, and Hungary. To carry this plan into operation in France, they instituted the "Guise party," which might just as well have been called the "Spanish party," as it was principally supported through the money and troops of Philip II., the monarch designated to be the universal sovereign.

Publicly, however, the Jesuits were prudently silent about their project of placing the crown of France in the hands of Philip II., and only their most ardent adherents were very secretly initiated into this secret. They sought, however, to bring the great masses, and more especially the reigning Royal House, into the belief that the "Guise party" was the "party of good Catholics," that is, the party of those at whose heart lay the defence and extension of Roman Catholicism, and every Frenchman who did not adhere to the heretical Huguenots must necessarily be brought to join the same.

At that time Henry III. swayed the destinies of France (1574-89), a bad man and ruler, like the whole brood of Queen Catherine de Medici, called by an author of those days "the Florentine she-wolf," at the same time a very good Catholic, and, especially, a bigoted adherent of the Roman priesthood. The Jesuits, on that account, brought him with ease to enter the League of the Guises, and later on, at Blois, on the 19th July 1588, he confirmed by oath on the Host his adherence thereto. But immediately afterwards a renegade confided to him the secret of the League, and, as he became sufficiently convinced, on accurate investigation, that in deed and in truth it was really a question of causing a revolution in favour of the Hapsburger, Philip II., he thereupon resolved to be beforehand with this plan by an act of violence. He, therefore, caused the Duke of Guise with his brother the Cardinal of Lorraine, to be murdered, on the 23rd of December 1588, and made himself master of the persons of the Cardinal of Bourbon, the Archbishop of Lyons, the Prince de Joinville, and the Duke of Nevers. A severe blow for the League, certainly. It did not, however, lose courage on that account, and at once chose the Duke of Mayenne, brother of the murdered Guises, as its leader. Indeed, the city of Paris called upon him to become the General-Viceregent of the kingdom, and the Sorbonne absolved the French people from all obedience to the King!

In this great necessity there was nothing remaining for the latter to do but to throw himself into the arms of his brother-in-law, Henry of Navarre, the great leader of the Protestant Huguenot party, and, on the 30th April 1589, he determined on an alliance with him for life or death. Thereupon, they augmented their united armies to 40,000 men, and at once advanced on Paris, which was defended by the Duke of Mayenne. The siege began, and made rapid progress, notwithstanding that the Pope came to the assistance of the Parisians with a Bull of Excommunication, which he now launched against Henry III., as well as against Henry of Navarre. Already the dispositions for the storm were made, and there could not be the slightest doubt of a successful result, as the besieged began to suffer severely from hunger. A young fanatical Dominican monk, named Jacques Clement, endeavoured now to give a new turn to the matter by a deed of blood, and he succeeded by most extraordinary bold-

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*Murder of Henry III of France.*

ness. He went, in Paris, where he lived, to the Count of Brienne, whom he knew to be a secret retainer of Henry III., and begged him to give him a pass and letter of recommendation to the King, as he had to disclose to him extraordinarily important facts relative to the League. The Count accorded the petition of the monk without forming the least distrust about the matter, and, provided with the pass and letter, the latter hastened to the royal camp at St. Cloud, two miles to the west of Paris, on the 31st of July 1589.

Early next morning, at 7 o'clock, he was brought by Jacques de Guesle, the General Procurator, in person to the King, who had already got up, and Clement at once delivered to him the letter of the Count of Brienne. "Well," said the King, "the Count writes me that you have very important communications to make; well, I am ready to listen." The monk crossed his arms and threw a significant look on the Procurator-General, as well as on the King's Adjutants, Colonel Montpesat of Lognac, and Jean de Levis, Baron of Mirepoix; thereupon, the King gave a sign to the three to withdraw out of ear-shot, and as soon as this occurred Clement advanced close to the Monarch. Instead of speaking, however, he drew a sharp knife out from his wide sleeves, and buried it deeply in the abdomen of the King. Henry cried aloud, and immediately withdrew the knife out of the wound in order to throw it in the face of the murderer. He then, however, fell back and lost consciousness. "The King is dead!" cried out the two officers and the Procurator-General, and threw themselves on the miserable monk, whom they transfixed twenty times with their swords, and they did not cease thrusting at him until he lay dead at their feet, and then they bethought them to summon doctors, in order, if possible, still to save the King. This, however, was not possible, and he died four-and-twenty hours afterwards, in the early morning of the 2nd of August.

This was the first regicide which took place in France, and, of course, it was sought with great energy to ascertain who it was that had impelled the monk to such a cruel deed. But only very unsatisfactory data were now obtainable, as they had been in such a hurry, after the perpetrated deed, to remove the murderer out of the world, instead of making previous inquiries and investigations, and it is even now impossible to say with

historical certainty whose tool Jacques Clement had been. There were still, however, strong indications that the Jesuits had a hand in the game, as they, at the time, proclaimed loudly from the pulpit that whoever would procure the removal of the present Nero Sardanapalus, that is, King Henry III., into the other world would do a most servicable work. They also instituted in Toulouse and other places, as soon as the murder had been accomplished, public prayers, processions, and other indications of rejoicing, and everywhere celebrated Clement as a holy martyr for the good cause. Indeed, one of the most conspicuous members of the Mariana, so highly esteemed by them, denominated the miserable murderer as the "eternal honour of France" (*æternum Galliæ decus*), and even pronounced the crime (*De Rege*, lib. i. cap. vi.) "to be a charming and distinguished deed, from which the rest of the rulers might derive a wholesome lesson." Other Jesuit authors expressed themselves in precisely similar terms, and the least song of praise given to him by them was that the cowardly assassin resembled Judith, Eleazer, or Maccabæus.

In short, it was doubly certain—first, that, if it was the hand of a Dominican who had killed the last of the Valois, this Dominican had obtained his murderous design from the teaching of the Jesuits on regicide; and, secondly, that the sons of Loyola, by their foolish songs of praise which in their writings and preaching they paid to the murderer, made themselves accomplices in the deed of infamy. None of them, however, were brought to justice, and the sole accomplice who suffered the punishment of death was the Dominican, Father Edmund Bourgoïn, prior of the cloister in which Jacques Clement lived. He was condemned by the Parliament of Tours, in the year 1590, to be torn asunder by four horses, simply and solely from his having confessed to having been aware of Clement's intention, and not having given any hint thereof.

On the death of Henry III., Henry of Navarre, although only after a severe battle with the League, ascended the throne of France under the title of Henry IV. He solemnly abjured his Protestant faith on the 25th July 1593, in order to meet the prejudices of his Catholic subjects, who numbered by far the greater part of the French population. The Catholics of France had thus no longer any reason to contend against this

Prince, about whose right to the throne there could not be the slightest doubt, and the less so, indeed, as Pope Clement VIII. immediately afterwards absolved him from the excommunication which had been launched against him by Sixtus V. Thus was Henry IV., in fact, recognised by almost all his enemies as King of France; and the whole kingdom breathed again more freely, as the civil war which had so frightfully desolated the country began, at length, to reach its termination. One single party alone, however, namely the Jesuits, who, by the succession to the throne of the Bearners, saw their project of a universal Hapsburg monarchy destroyed, never allowed themselves to come to any understanding about it, but, now that there was no longer any prospect of a renewal of an open state of war, sought to attain their end by secret cabals, by conspiracies, by secret intrigues, and by misdeeds. Cost what it would, Henry IV. must be at once removed from the world, as under so fine a statesman and powerful a warrior as him France must necessarily be raised to too great a height to be later on easily conquered by a Hapsburger. He must, therefore, be made away with, and this could best be done, most surely and most quickly, by murder. This deed, however, must not be accomplished by a regular Jesuit, because thereby, possibly, there would arise danger for the existence of the whole Society of Jesus, and, consequently, there remained nothing else for it but to procure from the rest of mankind a suitable instrument. Such an one was, indeed, discovered, or, more properly, three were by degrees found, namely, Peter Barrière, Jean or Johann Chatel, and Francis Ravailac, but it was only the last who succeeded in accomplishing the King's death.

In the summer of 1593 an agent of the Duke of Florence, a man of about thirty years of age, who in dress and conduct betrayed himself to have been a soldier, addressed the Dominican Father Seraphin Barchi in the streets of Lyons, and requested that he should immediately hear his confession. The Dominican, greatly struck by the shy and, at the same time, fanatical look of the man, took him into his private dwelling, and at once begged him to tell him everything that weighed upon his mind. The man did as he was requested; but his confession must have comprised something very frightful, as, when he had come to an end, Father Seraphin looked fearfully pale, as if he had been



struck with lightning. Still more remarkable was it that the Father did not, as was the usual practice, accord absolution to his new confessant; but, on the contrary, refused it to him, not even allowing him to depart without violent words. In the meantime, a Monsieur de Brancalone, a nobleman in the service of Queen Louisa, widow of Henry III., entered the room of the Dominican, and thereupon the man of soldierly appearance suddenly dashed out of the apartment. M. de Brancalone, however, had time to fix his eyes upon the man, and so accurately, indeed, as at once to observe that something very unusual had happened. He did not, however, long remain unenlightened as to what the unusual occurrence had been, as the Dominican, trembling from horror and indignation, communicated everything that the soldier had confided to him under the seal of secrecy as a confessional mystery. He betrayed it to him, as it was a question of life and death, and as the fortune of the whole of France was at stake if he delayed for a moment to keep back the statement. The man who had just dashed out of the apartment was formerly a soldier in the army of the Duc de Guise, called Peter Barrière, and had nothing less on his mind than the intention to murder King Henry IV. He had for a long time entertained this thought, and chiefly from conversation with a Jesuit Father; but as he then confessed his intention to several other ecclesiastics, and, among them, even to the Chief Vicar of the Archbishop of Lyons, he had been most earnestly dissuaded from his enterprise. The same also occurred, as we have seen, with regard to the Dominican, Seraphin Barchi, but without result, as Peter Barrière or La Barr, dashed out of the apartment, exclaiming that he would immediately go to Paris, and obtain there better advice from the sons of Loyola in the Rue Jacob. There was not a minute to lose, then, if King Henry was to be saved, and Brancalone, after a short discussion with Father Seraphin, threw himself on horseback, in order to hasten to Nevers to the Duke of the same name, to be provided by him with a proper pass. The latter did this at once, and Brancalone pursued his journey forthwith in search of the King, but he met with so many hindrances on the way, that several weeks elapsed before he reached the city where Henry IV. had his temporary residence at that period.

Barrière had, in the meantime, safely arrived in Paris, and was there at once brought by the Pastor of St. André des Arts, under the name of Christopher Aubry, to the Rector of the Jesuit College, Father Claude de Varade. He, however, took up the matter in a very different way from what Seraphin Barchi had done in Lyons, as he at once declared to Barrière that the circumstance of the King becoming Catholic was nothing but a political comedy, and not the result of any inward conviction whatever; accordingly it was only the death of Henry, that horrible heretic, that could preserve the Catholic religion in security. Precisely the same opinion was enunciated by Father Commolet,\* who, by command of the Rector, heard the confession of Barrière, and thus the wretched man, in obtaining complete absolution for his murderous intention, had his last scruples of conscience removed. He was thus now firmly determined, according to the invitation of the Jesuits, to remove King Henry out of the world, and, with this purpose, as soon as he left the house in the Rue Jacob, he bought for himself a strong knife, which he got sharpened on both sides. He now informed himself as to the place of the King's residence, and, as he ascertained that he was in St. Denys, he at once betook himself there. As, however, no favourable opportunity presented itself, he followed his high game from there to Grouay, then to Crecy, thence to Champs-sur-Marne, and, lastly, to the town of Melun, where he in vain sought an opportunity for making use of his knife. In the latter city, at length, there was to be an end to his chase, as, upon the 26th of August, the very day on which Brancalone arrived, Barrière was arrested by the Grand Provost of the royal house. After a short denial, the miserable wretch confessed everything, without even being put to the torture. He was, consequently, only justly condemned to a cruel death, and this he suffered on the 31st August 1593. His accomplices, on the other hand, escaped all punishment, as the city of Paris had not, up to this time, yielded to King Henry, and

\* It appears that this Commolet, after Barrière had confessed to him, was pretty certain of the matter, as he immediately preached in the church of St. Bartholomew, in Paris, upon the murder perpetrated by Ehud of the King of Moab, and loudly exclaimed, "We require likewise an Ehud, let him be monk, soldier, or shepherd matters not, but we require an Ehud." "But console yourselves," he added, at the end of his discourse, "within a few days you shall witness this divine deed, and heaven grant that this miracle may be successfully accomplished." The words openly apply to the assassination intended by Barrière.

they could not therefore be caught. Later on, however, as Paris also declared itself ready to pay homage to its rightful lord, those above named found it best to escape secretly from Paris, in the suite of the Cardinal Legate Plaisance, and to seek for protection and security in the Papal city of Avignon.

This attempt at murder on the part of Peter Barrière had, as we have seen, no hurtful consequences for King Henry IV. ; it was otherwise, however, for the sons of Loyola, as they were unhesitatingly blamed throughout the whole of France as the authors of this attempt. Moreover, people busied themselves, immeasurably, to discover the grounds of their hatred to Henry, and it was found out at once that it was a question with them of nothing less than conferring the crown of France on a foreign Prince, and putting it on the head of the Hapsburger, Philip II. In consequence thereof it was judged expedient, by the Government, in the year 1594, to issue a public address to the French people, holding forth against the Spanish machinations, and at the same time, in relation thereto, to demand a new oath of fidelity from its subjects. Every Frenchman, whether belonging to the priesthood or the laity, rendered this oath; the Jesuits alone declined to do so, and, in the event of the people becoming infuriated, as, for instance, when their college was stormed in Lyons, they shut their schools and churches rather than render compliance. In consequence of this, it came to be a subject of debate in many circles whether it would not be expedient that the Society of Jesus should be entirely prohibited in France, and more particularly the University of Paris occupied itself with this question, as the Jesuits had infringed so much and so powerfully on their rights. Indeed, they carried, as we have already noticed in a former Book, their old strife with the Society of Jesus so far as to bring the matter afresh before Parliament, and earnestly urged the King that this tribunal should deliver its judgment thereon.

There was much at stake, then, as far as the Jesuits were concerned—indeed, unusually much; nothing less than their very existence on French soil, and this could never be assured so long as a King sat upon the throne who had only become Catholic from political motives—so long, in fact, as Henry IV. lived, who conceded the Protestants the same rights as the

orthodox believers, and continually allowed himself to be governed, or, at all events, influenced, by his heretical Minister, Sully. "Away with him, then," was once more the cry of the Jesuits; "away with him, under any circumstances, and, indeed, as quickly as possible, as there is danger in every moment's delay." Moreover, the sons of Loyola were not satisfied with words merely, but they also soon caused them to be followed by deeds, and their instrument this time was Jean Chatel, a youth of nineteen, whom they had educated especially to be a regicide.

The matter proceeded as follows: On the 27th December 1594 Henry IV. returned to Paris from Picardy, where he had just recently obtained a victory over his enemies, and at once betook himself, followed by a jubilant number of the people, to the Hotel Bouchage, in which resided Gabrielle d'Estrée, Duchess of Beaufort, his beautiful mistress. Here he received the homage of several Parisian gentlemen, who hastened to greet their Monarch, and there he was in a very happy and free-hearted mood, for no one was denied access to him. Among others who presented themselves to him were Messieurs Ragny and Montigny, and the latter kneeled down to kiss the King's hand, while the Monarch, on his part, bent to raise him up and embrace him. At this moment, a pale thin young man rushed through the crowd standing at the door, and threw himself upon Henry IV. and dealt him a violent blow with a knife that he flourished. The murderer aimed at the heart of the King, but, as the latter had just bent himself forwards, the blow missed its mark and only cut his lip. This was cut through, and even one of his teeth was broken by the blow, but the ruler sustained no further injury, nor did he lose his presence of mind for an instant. Those present, of course, threw themselves at once upon the assassin, who, in the first moment of rage, was nearly torn in pieces. The King, however, ordered him to be delivered over to the Provost Marshal, and this mandate was consequently obeyed.

While the Monarch now hastened to Notre Dame in order to offer up thanks to God for his safety, an investigation into the abortive crime at once began, and even at the first hearing, which lasted until late in the night, the full truth came out. The name of the young man was, as we have said above, Jean

Chatel, and he was the son of a well-to-do and respectable married couple, the cloth-makers Pierre Chatel and Dame Denise, *née* Hazard. In order to give him a good education, his father sent him to the Jesuits, in the so-called College of Clermont, and here he pursued his studies up to his eighteenth year. Good morals, however, he did not learn, as there never existed such a dissolute and disorderly young man as Jean Chatel, who did not even recoil from incest with his youngest sister, of whom there were two, but no brother. Besides, there were occasions when he was seized with the most bitter remorse, and it was in one of these that the thought came into his head for the first time of murdering the King. He had been frequently, of late, taught by his teacher of philosophy, the Father Jean Gueret, that it would be a very meritorious deed to remove out of the world the tyrant Henry IV., because he was the patron of heretics, and he also had the idea that should he execute this meritorious work he might escape the pains of hell, which he so very much feared, or, at all events, in some degree lessen them. The thought soon took root in him, and as the Rector of the College, the Father Jean Guignard, to whom he spoke about the matter, expressly assured him that by an especially meritorious transaction, like the crime which he contemplated, he would not merely moderate, but might even be enabled to avert, eternal damnation altogether, those ideas sank deeper and deeper into his heart, till in the end he formed the firm resolution to perpetrate the murder of the King.

In order that this determination might not prove to be evanescent, the pious Fathers of the Order of Jesus put him through a course of spiritual exercises, and displayed before him frightful pictures of hell and the punishments of hell-fire, producing in him thereby an almost insane kind of ecstasy. In short, from Chatel's confession it became apparent that no one but the Jesuits had instilled the thought into him of taking the King's life, and the people of Paris became so enraged on this account that they proceeded to storm the College of Clermont, with the view of devoting it to flames, with all that it contained. It was found necessary, therefore, to place a strong armed force there, in order to save the hated Loyolites from this fate; the authorities would not have been justified, however, in adopting this measure had not Father Gueret, Chatel's teacher,

been, at the same time, arrested, while it had been made known that the whole College would be thoroughly searched, and the guilty proceeded against with the strictest severity.

The investigation was, in fact, at once carried out, and the consequence was that the Rector of the College, Father Guignard, was also brought into the Conciergerie, wherein were all the other prisoners. In the secret drawer of a writing-table several manuscripts prepared by him were found, in which he quite unblushingly defended the regicide, and said of Jaques Clement, among other things, that he had performed an extremely heroic action when he murdered King Henry III. Further, he laid down, in this document, the proposition that there never would be any peace or good fortune for the Catholic Church until the crown of France should be torn from the House of Bourbon; and, lastly, he endeavoured to prove that it was the duty of every Catholic to remove, either publicly or secretly, the Fox of Bearn, that is, King Henry IV., whom he held to be worse than even a Herod, and yet a regular warfare could not be carried on against him. Frightful teaching, in truth—teaching, indeed, eminently calculated to direct the horror of the world against the entire Society of Jesus; for could the Jesuit College be regarded as anything else than a nursery for assassination and assassins?

After these proofs had been clearly established, not only against Chatel, but also against the aforesaid Jesuits, the Parliament proceeded to pass sentence, and, first of all, condemned the murderer to well-merited punishment. This was carried out on the 29th December, and therefore only two days after the attempted murder; it took place on the evening of that day by torchlight, and a right fearful punishment it, indeed, was. The delinquent was first of all brought to the square in front of Notre Dame, with nothing but his shirt on, and upon his knees made to beg pardon for his contemplated crime. He was then taken on an ash cart to the Place de Grèves, where the executioners were in readiness, in order to pinch his hands and thighs with red-hot tongs. Thereupon the knife with which he had thrust at the King was placed in his hand, and the latter was laid on the block and struck off with an axe. Lastly, four horses were attached to his arms and feet, and in this way he was torn into four pieces, the remains, with the head and trunk,

were then thrown upon a heap of wood, which was set on fire, and all was burnt to ashes.

Thus died Jean Chatel, the murderous pupil of the Jesuits, and not less severe was the judgment which was awarded to the Jesuits by Parliament. Father Guignard, like Chatel, was brought in his shirt to do penance on his knees at Notre Dame, and suffered the punishment of death at the Place de Grèves. The life of Father Gueret was spared, but he, together with five others belonging to his College, were banished for ever from French soil. The Jesuit body, as a whole, was banished out of France, because it had been proved incontestably that as leaders of youth, as disturbers of the public peace, the pious Fathers were enemies of the King and State; and within three days after the proclamation had been made, they had to leave their colleges, and the country itself within fourteen days. Lastly, the Parliament ordered that the house in which Chatel had lived should be pulled down, and, when this was done, it caused to be erected on the spot a pyramid upon which the shameful deed of the murderer, as well as the vileness of the Jesuits, was engraven in golden capital letters, in order that the latest posterity should not forget what a frightful thing had occurred in Paris towards the end of the year 1594; and especially, that horror of the Society of Jesus should for ever remain ineffaceable.

Thus acted the Parliament of Paris, in which sat none but sagacious and enlightened men; but, unfortunately, things did not long remain thus, as the sons of Loyola contrived to evade completely this edict of expulsion. Strict, indeed, as the order ran, which expelled the Jesuits out of the whole of France, and strictly as it was urged to be carried out in such towns as Paris, Rennes, Dijon, Rouen, and others, a number of the Fathers succeeded in evading the order, and not a few of them remained in the country unmolested, as soon as they arrayed themselves in secular clothing. Besides, a great number of them fled to the provinces of Guienne and Languedoc, as well as to Lorraine, where the last of the Guises, the Duke of Mayenne, resided under the protection of Spain, and in the towns of Toulouse, Metz, Verdun, &c. The Black Cloaks swarmed openly, therefore, for a long time. In short, the order of their expulsion existed, for the most part, merely on paper, and it was

observed, from the schemes which they ventured to hatch on behalf of their re-establishment, that the more influential among them had remained within the boundaries of France. Recognising the fact that, in order to win the favour of a monarch, it is above all things requisite to bring over to one's side those in his immediate company, they made a dead set at certain Court favourites, as Messieurs Bellievre, La Varennes, and others, who were to Henry IV. what later Lebel, the provider of the ill-famed deer park, was to Louis XV.; nor did they even neglect the apron-string of a chambermaid, if thereby they might hope to penetrate into the bed-chamber of a royal mistress. Most of all, however, they relied upon the efforts of their great patron, the Pope of the day, Clement VIII.; and, in truth, he moved heaven and earth in order to bring about a change in France in favour of the Society of Jesus. It was, however, throughout a period of several years without avail, seeing that Henry IV. yielded nothing, either to the representations of Cardinal Legate Villeroy, who acted as Ambassador in Rome, or to the many autograph letters of the Pope himself.

But it was different from this in the year 1599. At that time Henry IV. had determined upon a separation from his spouse, Margaret of Valois, and, the matter having arrived at that point, he went to the Pope to pronounce the divorce. The latter declared himself ready and willing to meet this request, but only on condition that the edict of banishment against the Jesuits should be revoked. What was, then, Henry IV. to do? He promised to act as the Pope wished, but the latter must give him time, in order that he might be able to prepare his French subjects for what was to happen. A short time afterwards, still in the year 1599, Henry married again, with Marie de Medicis, daughter of the Grand Duke of Tuscany, and, as she had been in the hands of the Jesuits from her earliest youth, it was apparent that, from the day of her marriage, she would not omit any favourable opportunity in order to cause her husband to become favourable to them. Besides, she brought with her to the Court Father Lorenzo Magius, in all respects an experienced Jesuit; and at the same time being a fine companion and wit, he soon obtained great influence over the King. The consequence was, that great forbearance was now endeavoured to be shown as to the treatment of the



sons of Loyola, when they began to return *incognito* into the country here and there, as teachers, in secular clothing; the Monarch still hesitated, however, for several years longer, to restore them legally, and the edict of banishment still nominally remained in force during all this time. When, however, in the year 1603, French Lorraine, the last province adhering to the Guises was conquered, Henry IV. at once removed his Court for a time to Metz. He had scarcely, however, arrived there (for, as I have already said, that country was inundated by the Jesuits), when the Jesuit Provincial, Father Ignatius Armand, in company with the most sagacious of his subjects, craved an audience of the Monarch, and obtained it by the intercession of Fouquets de la Varennes, the confidant of the royal peccadilloes. On his knees he prayed the Monarch to fulfil the promise which he had given to the Holy Father in Rome, and assured him, weeping, with a solemn oath, that none should surpass the Order of Jesus in all France in fidelity and devotion. In short, he left no means untried to move King Henry to revoke the edict of banishment, and finally, to his joy, he actually witnessed the accomplishment of his designs, although, it is true, only conditionally.

In the same year, at the beginning of September 1603, the King allowed the sons of Loyola to settle in the towns of Toulouse, Agen, Rhodes, Bordeaux, Perigueux, Limones, Tournon, Le Puy, Aubergaz, Beziers, Lyons, Dijon, and La-Flèche; on the other hand, they were not permitted to do so in the remaining towns of France, except with the special permission of Royalty. This latter even was only obtainable when the Jesuits wished to acquire estates, or when presents were made to them; and, besides, it was requisite that they should all be Frenchmen born. Lastly, each one of them had to take a solemn oath to submit to the laws of the country, and never, on any occasion, to presume upon the exceptional privileges accorded to them from time to time by the Popes. Such were the conditions upon which the sons of Loyola were again allowed to return into France, in spite of the vehement opposition of the Parliament of Paris, and they joyfully all swore whatever was required of them. They would, indeed, right willingly have pledged themselves with an oath to adhere even to much harder conditions, if it had been required of them, for what did

an oath signify to them, which, from the first, they never intended to keep?

At the same time as the Jesuits were permitted again in France, Henry IV. took one of them, Father Cotton, to be his Father Confessor. He did so as he believed he would, in him, provide himself with a scourge which would give security for the good conduct of the Order; but this Cotton was such a cunning and accomplished courtier, that he soon obtained mastery over the heart of the King, and gained as well, through the courtiers and mistresses, an influence which proved to be of great advantage to his Order. The latter soon obtained permission for the erection of colleges, in addition to the towns already mentioned, in Amiens, Poitiers, Vienne, Rouen, Caen, Rheims, Bearn, and, at length, also in Paris, and it may be shortly stated that within the next seven years the Jesuits trebled the number of their houses in France. Above everything, it was a great object of the Fathers to cause the pyramid which was named the Pillar of Disgrace of the Society of Jesus, because it proclaimed their share in the attempted assassination of Chatel, to be pulled down, as so long as it was standing they could not be regarded as having been completely restored, and, consequently, the Father Confessor ceased neither night nor day to urge the King to give his order for its destruction. For a long time Henry IV. refused his consent, and still less was the Parliament of Paris, which, as we know, had ordered the erection of the monument, agreeable thereto. At length, in May 1606, the Council of State being won over to the Order of Jesus, permitted itself to be moved to deliver judgment in favour of the Jesuits; Henry IV. accordingly gave his permission for the removal of the pillar. This, however, was proposed to be effected during the night, because it was feared that the people of Paris might resist the measure by force. But Father Cotton exclaimed "Henry IV. is no king of darkness, but of light!" and by these words induced the King to have the order for its destruction carried out in the broad daylight, with the assistance of a strongly armed force. This took place; and who now had reason to triumph, seeing that the shortly before much despised sons of Loyola received thereby new lustre? Under such circumstances, it might have been believed that it would be absolutely incumbent upon them in future to guard, with Argus eyes, the life of the King who

had proved himself to be so good to them ; but the Jesuits acted quite differently to this, and had good reason for their course of action.

After Henry IV. had internally pacified and strengthened his kingdom, he directed his attention to external politics, and at once found that France had much too little to say in the council of nations. Was not, at that time, the power of the Austro-Spanish House all-potent, before which all the rest of Europe had to bow submissively ? Consequently, he designed the plan of breaking through this supremacy by force of arms, and thereby re-establishing the European balance of power ; to this end he concluded a treaty, offensive and defensive, with most of the remaining European States, especially with the Protestant principalities of Germany, as also with England and the Netherlands. A large army was consequently got together and armed quite secretly, and the campaign was to be opened in the summer of 1610 with great energy, in two directions, on the occasion of the Julier war of succession. The allies might naturally entertain every hope of obtaining the victory, as neither Spain nor Austria had found time to arm properly, and, consequently, there was great rejoicing on the part of the former, while in Madrid and Vienna the previous proud confidence was beginning to give place to gloomy hopelessness. Only a miracle could this time save the House of Hapsburg, and the day for miracles was passed. Still, however, Philip II. of Spain, and Rudolph II. of Austria had no real reasons for despair, as their great friends the Jesuits still lived, and it was an easy matter for them, when justifiable means were wanting, to assist by a small crime. What was easier in the present instance than to make away with the man who was at the head of the whole undertaking—the King and Commander, who breathed into the whole body the spirit of coalition, and without whom the allied States would fall back into their old insignificance ? I allude to King Henry IV. of France, the ingenious deviser of the plan of a universal Christian Republic. And, wonderful to say, since something of this grand scheme had become noised about in the world, Henry IV. almost daily received hints of conspiracies which were in preparation against him, and, on the other hand, a kind of fatal anxiety took possession of his mind that his life would be taken. Indeed, this dread now never left him either night

or day, and he said a hundred times to his confidential minister Sully, "Friend, I shall never be permitted to take the field, as they will murder me here." And these ominous presentiments did not deceive him, as we shall presently see.

On the 14th of May 1610, Henry IV. quitted the Palace of the Louvre at 4 o'clock in the afternoon, in order to pay a visit to Sully, who was sick, and at the same time to take leave of him, as he had the intention of placing himself at the head of his army on the following day. He was in a coach open on all sides, and beside him sat the Duke of Epemon, while the Marquis of Mirabeau and Monsieur Duplessis de Liancourt formed his *vis à vis*. The seats situated upon the coach steps—the state carriages of those days being differently constructed from those of the present time—were taken up, on the right by the Marshals de Lavardin and De Roquelaure, and on the left by the Duc de Montbazon and the Marquis de la Force, and it may be well said that the King was, indeed, very well protected, though the guards which usually escorted the royal equipage had on this occasion been sent back, in order to avoid all appearance of pomp. Having arrived in the rather narrow Rue de la Ferronnière, the coach was detained for a little, as some waggons blocked up the road, and the King turned to the Marquis de Lavardin, asking what was the matter. At this instant a man stepped forward from the gaping crowd, amongst whom he had been standing, as if he wished to get a better sight of the King. Chaise (such was his name), as soon as he had approached near enough, swung himself like lightning on the right wheel of the carriage behind, pulled out a sharp knife and made two thrusts at the breast of the King. The first thrust glanced upon a rib, the second, however, hit him right through the heart, and the Monarch immediately sank dead into the arms of the Duc d'Epemon, while the blood poured out in streams. The murderer endeavoured to take to flight, but in vain. He was at once seized, before he had time even to throw away the bloody knife, and he was given over to the Provost Marshal, who conveyed him into the Conciergerie.

On the instant, before even the bloody corpse of the murdered ruler was yet cold, the Parliament was assembled by the Queen, now a widow, the Marie de Medicis above alluded to. The investigation in regard to the murder, as might have been expected, was not commenced at once,

the anxiety was to name the Queen to be Guardian and Regent—the son of the murdered King, afterwards Louis XIII., being at that time only nine years of age. This was all that was on her mind—she and her friends, the Jesuits, as well as her secret favourite and lover, Concini, the tool of the sons of Loyola, whom she afterwards created Marquis and Marshal d'Ancre, had their motives. She actually thus succeeded in carrying out her intentions, and it was only after this had taken place, three days after the perpetrated murder, that the wretch who had done the deed was brought before the bar of Parliament. He declared his name to be Francis Ravallac, born, in 1578, at Angoulême, where he had for several years occupied the place of a teacher. He had long resolved on the assassination of the King, and, indeed, on this account, that the latter had been an inveterate enemy to Catholicism, and had allowed himself to be drawn into relationship with the enemies of the Church, the heretical Protestants. To murder such a ruler, he had been taught, was not only allowable, but was, indeed, a highly serviceable work, and he had the intention of perpetrating the deed whenever he got an opportunity. Moreover, in the true meaning of the word he had no guilty associate, and was unable on that account to betray anyone. He held to this statement even when brought to torture, and he only admitted that, shortly before doing the deed, he had confessed his intention to Father Aubigny, and had obtained absolution from him in that respect.

Thus he had no accomplice of his guilt, and no one knew anything about it, with the exception of Father Aubigny; but this affirmation was simply a falsehood, as the enemies of Henry IV. had already, for some time before the murder, been accurately informed that it would take place. It was proved, indeed, that the approaching death of Henry was spoken about fourteen days before in Madrid, Milan, Antwerp, Douay, Arras, Brussels, Mechlen, and Prague, in all of which the Jesuits were notoriously powerful, while several persons in Rouen received letters from Brussels, wherein was contained a detailed report of this murder, though at the time the King was still alive. Thus eight days before the murder a courier passed through Aix-la-Chapelle, and said he had brought news to the German Princes that the King of France was dead. A note, too, was found on the altar of the chief church of Montargis, the purport

of which was that an end would soon be made of the King's life by a daring fellow, and Father Lagona of Naples publicly announced the monarch's death from the pulpit. Thus the Prevost, or City Judge, of Poitiers, which town lies two days' journey from Paris, while in a large company playing at skittles, precisely at the time that Henry was being murdered, allowed the following words to escape from him: "The King is either dead or now dying." As he had two sons among the Jesuits, he was afterwards arrested in order to question him, but he at once strangled himself with his trouser-braces. Moreover, a certain Monsieur Target received a letter in Paris from Herzogenbusch, in which, fifteen days before the King's death, it was intimated to him that almost at any hour might be expected intelligence of an approaching great event in that city, as also that in all the Austrian dominions subject to Belgium, prayers had been instituted night and day in order that a mighty undertaking might meet with the desired accomplishment. So also the Spaniards who belonged to the garrison of Cologne on the Rhine declared in a whisper, even in the middle of May, that Henry would soon be removed out of the world, and in Maastricht it was stated that then was the time to place the King of Spain upon the throne of France in the room of a Bourbon.

In short, among good Catholic circles, more especially in towns where Jesuit colleges existed, several weeks before Henry's death, news was spread abroad of his approaching murder. How, then, could it be that Ravallac had no guilty accomplice, and that there had been no conspiracy relative to the murder? Who, then, I ask further, were these guilty accomplices? Suspicion fell upon the Jesuits, and with great reason, seeing that, as friends of the Spanish Court and of the House of Hapsburg, they had a particular interest in the removal of Henry from the world, as I have already shown above. Particulars regarding the conspiracy, however, never came to light, because, by the influence of the Queen Regent, the great protectress of the Order of Jesus, the investigation respecting Ravallac had been carried out with a carelessness, superficiality, and party spirit which had been unheard of before in France. It appeared as if people were afraid to discover guilty accomplices, and on that account avoided entirely examining those who might have been able to give some details. Indeed, some, as, for instance, the

former captain of the guard, Du Jardin, and Madame Coman, the late chambermaid of the Marquis de Vermeuil, both of whom, by peculiar circumstances, had been acquainted with Ravaillac, knew exactly by whom the latter had been advised—both of these, besides some others were detained under similar circumstances until the trial had come to a termination, and then hastened over the frontiers of the country. But was Father Aubigny, who was acquainted about the crime, and yet did not give any information regarding it, punished in any way? Oh no! the authorities were satisfied with his declaration that he was unable to recollect that Ravaillac had confided anything to him, as he had been endowed by God with the attribute of forgetting at once confessional secrets entrusted to him!

In short, it was not wished that details should be known, and nothing, therefore, was actually ascertained, while the members of Parliament, by superior direction, refrained from making any minute investigation. That Ravaillac, too, should remain steadfast, Father Cotton, the celebrated Father Confessor, who frequently visited him in prison, took good care. Thus was Francis Ravaillac the sole person who was sentenced to death—the same frightful one that Jean Chatel had suffered—and this sentence was carried out on the 27th of May 1610. The really guilty ones, however—they who had worked the wretch up to the violent resolution—rubbed their hands with satisfaction, as they had attained the end which they wished.

With the commencement of the Regency, Marie, the widowed Queen, immediately altered the whole system of government, that is to say, she absolved herself from the coalition established by her late husband, and changed the enmity hitherto observed towards Spain into an extremely close friendship. Indeed, in order to make the union of the crowns more complete, she betrothed her under-aged son, Louis XIII., with the Infanta Anna, as also her daughter Elizabeth with the Prince of the Asturias. And what, then, could the Jesuits have more desired? Certainly, no sensible man could have the least doubt that such a union was opposed to the interests of France, and equally was it clear, as a consequence of the altered condition of affairs, that the strife would recommence with the Huguenots, who had hitherto, under Henry IV., enjoyed quietly and peacefully the protection of the laws. But all this did not trouble the Queen Regent, as, from the first,

she belonged to the most bigoted ladies of her times, and never ceased, during the whole period of her government, to do exactly what the Jesuits suggested to her. Also, under Louis XIII., the latter obtained the mastery over the Court, at least at the commencement of his reign, as was proved by the fact, that his Father Confessors were the Fathers Cotton, Arnoux, Seguiran, Suffran, and Caussin, all of whom were Jesuits, and, indeed, the consequence of their supremacy was that the long-dreaded war with the Huguenots actually broke out in the year 1621. Still, it was ended in the following year, and in such a way that the Protestants, by the Edict of Nantes, obtained again their guaranteed religious liberty. From this time forward they again ventured to be Protestant in their "belief," to "hear Protestantism preached," and to "confess as Protestants." On the other hand, the Jesuits managed so that no Huguenot obtained any State office, and that none of them who looked to the army for advancement in France need think of doing so. On this account, under Louis XIII., a number of Protestants came over to the camp of the Catholics. Even the Duke Cardinal de Richelieu, who was First Minister of the King in the year 1624, opposed the Huguenots by his measures, on the advice of the Jesuits, although he was otherwise strongly adverse to the latter as regards political questions. For instance, he again adopted the plan of Henry IV. to humiliate the House of Hapsburg at any price, and took the side, therefore, of Sweden and the Protestants during the Thirty Years' war. The course of his politics, also, was followed by the best results, as France at the termination of the war held a much greater and more powerful position than before, while Spain and Austria were completely exhausted and unfit to carry out the leading parts they had hitherto played in Europe. He himself, however, did not live to enjoy this satisfaction, nor even did King Louis XIII. Both had died several years before, the first in the year 1642, the second in the year 1643, and in their room reigned Louis XIV., called by many the Great, although he was undeserving of such a title. Thus, however, he proved himself great, that he made Richelieu's politics his own, and from the commencement of his reign no other course was followed but to weaken, or rather humiliate, Spain and Austria more than ever. Therefore, a light broke in upon the Order of Jesus;



the idea of a Universal Christian Monarchy was an impossibility so far as regarded the House of Hapsburg, which had completely retrograded, while the position seemed to pertain much more to France, and, consequently, they forsook suddenly the standards of Spain and Austria in order to throw themselves entirely into the arms of the Most Christian King, Louis XIV. It was their wish henceforth to fight for his interests as their own, summoning all their forces thereto; naturally, however, under the condition that he proved himself entirely favourable to them, and rendered every obedience to their counsels. The treaty came into effect, and was faithfully maintained by both sides, and especially by Louis XIV., when he became older. From that time the Jesuits completely governed him, and mainly, indeed, through the royal Father Confessor, Father La Chaise, as also by his successor, Father Le Tellier, not to omit mention of the royal mistress, Madame de Maintenon, whose heart was entirely Jesuitically inclined.

I could now write a long history about the frightful consequences of this sway of the sons of Loyola, a sway which might fairly be termed, indeed, exclusive; but I refer the reader to general histories of the world, in which is portrayed in prominent characters the mischief which the Government of Louis XIV. brought about in France and over the whole of Europe. One thing I cannot, however, pass over in silence, namely, that the sons of Loyola misused all their power, in order to cause the King, above everything, to revoke the Edict of Nantes, a step whereby the whole of his Protestant subjects would be brought into the lap of the only saving Church.

A frightful panic pervaded the whole of France; indeed, beyond that kingdom even into Savoy, whose Duke did everything that Louis XIV. commanded him, as the sons of Loyola, accompanied by a whole army of executioners and soldiers, chiefly dragoons—whence the expression “Dragonades”—began the extermination of the hated heresy. This extermination was ultimately put an end to, but only after the sacrifice of hundreds of thousands who preferred death to going to Mass, and by the loss of other hundreds of thousands who succeeded, in all kinds of disguises, and by leaving behind them almost all their property, in making their escape across the frontiers. But a truce with all these horrors, which were not even surpassed in

the previous Thirty Years' war; a truce to them, as the Society of Jesus, wherever it had become all-powerful, has everywhere made itself immortal by such atrocities.

Under the Regency, too, of the Duke of Orleans, the Jesuits remained all-powerful in France, as the prime favourite and Minister of the Regent was the ill-famed Father Dubois, for whom they obtained a Cardinal's hat; on that account he was their declared friend, and aided them in their victory over the Jansenists, during the strife which went on in those days between the two parties. It must be remembered that after the death of Louis XIV., in the year 1715, his grandson and successor, Louis XV., was only five years of age, and the Duke of Orleans, therefore, as first prince of the blood, took over the Government during his minority.

The sons of Loyola obtained a still greater supremacy on the termination of the Regency, under the Government of the said Louis XV., at any rate, at the commencement of his rule, and it is well known what great influence the Royal Father Confessor, Father Claude Bertrand Taschereau de Lignieres, exercised over the Monarch. Besides, they possessed the heart of Cardinal Fleury, who, as First Minister of Louis, governed France, almost absolutely, up to the year 1743, and it appeared as though their power would never be shaken in the least degree, as long as Louis XV. sat upon the throne. It happened otherwise, nevertheless, and all through the influence of a woman, the Marquise de Pompadour, who, from the year 1745, had become the reigning mistress of the Monarch. At that time, namely, in the middle of the 18th century, there existed in Paris, as well as throughout the whole of France, two powerful parties contending against each other for life or death—the Jansenists and the Molinists—as I have shown already in a preceding Book. To every candid thinker, this strife appeared truly laughable, as it was a question, on the whole, of but little difference as regards faith; but the Jesuits staked their all upon the issue, so as to hunt the Jansenists to death, and consequently they induced their friend the Archbishop of Paris, Christof de Beaumont, to prohibit all who had not openly declared themselves adverse to Jansenism from administering the Holy Communion and Extreme Unction to the sick and dying. The Pompadour, however, sided in opinion with the Jansenists, and, on that account,

influenced the King, so that he issued a precisely opposite command. Moreover, the Archbishop was also banished to Conflans, as an arbitrary rebel, and everyone of his colleagues who thought fit to adhere to him was threatened with the same punishment. Thereupon the Parliament again mixed itself up in the strife, and the result was such a complete confusion that every moment it was to be feared that an utter dissolution of the existing order of things would take place. But the sons of Loyola showed themselves, above all, the most busy in the matter, and roused up such a great hatred, by word and writing, against those who, according to them, had become recreant to the King, that one cannot sufficiently wonder at their temerity. Suddenly, in the midst of this frightful confusion, the cry was raised that Louis XV. had been assassinated, and boundless consternation seized upon all those who wished well to France.

It was on the 5th of January, the day of the three Kings, towards 7 o'clock in the evening, in the Château of Versailles. The King wanted to proceed to the Trianon, with the Dauphin, to take supper, and a company of the guard received orders to escort the chaise. All was ready, and precisely at 7 o'clock the Monarch was seen to approach the portal, followed by a train of courtiers, among whom was Marshal Richelieu, Chancellor Lamoignon, and Seal-bearer Machault. On the steps of the coach was the Duc d'Ayen, captain on duty, and the guard presented arms as the Monarch stepped into the chaise. It must be remarked, moreover, that in spite of the darkness of the evening, the lighting was extremely bad, as it consisted only of a few lanterns, which were borne by about a dozen servants, and thus it was not noticed that, at the moment at which His Majesty had got to the coach-steps, a man had quite silently insinuated himself through the guard among the crowd of courtiers which surrounded the King. The Monarch suddenly felt a stab on his breast, and, as he immediately put his hand to the place, he observed that it was coloured red with his blood. He quickly turned round, and, so doing, distinctly saw the man who had stabbed him; he thereupon exclaimed, "Seize the murderer!" This took place on the instant, and the wretch, who at once confessed the deed, was hurried into a room on the ground floor, the so-called "Salle des Gardes," where he was strictly searched. Nothing was found on him, however, except thirty

heavy pieces of gold, a prayer-book, and a sharp knife with two blades.

He was at once handed over to the Provost-Marshal, who had been quickly summoned, and who conveyed him immediately into the same prison in which previous regicides had been confined. While this was taking place, a report spread abroad that the King had been either severely wounded or murdered, and this went like lightning through the whole city, causing, as may be imagined, the greatest excitement. Still greater, even, was the consternation at Court, as it was at first believed that the wound of the King, who betook himself immediately to his own apartments after the murderous attempt, was dangerous, and that there might be a change on the throne. The party of the Dauphin, to which the Jesuits gave the tone, already began to rejoice, while the latter went so far as to induce the heir to the throne to issue an order for the immediate removal from Court of Madame de Pompadour. In the meantime it came out that there was no great danger to be apprehended from the King's wound, and after a few days he was entirely convalescent. When, then, Madame de Pompadour learned this, she triumphantly returned again to Court, and, from the manner in which she was received by the King, it became clearly apparent to everyone that her power and influence were not in the least diminished.

But to return now to the murderer. The investigation, which was at once instituted against him, showed that his name was Robert Franz Damiens, twenty-two years of age, and he named Tieulay, near Arras, in the Department of Artois, as his birth-place. His father had been a farmer, but as he had become bankrupt, the education of the youth was not much considered. His parents were glad when he was engaged as a cook's boy in the Jesuit College at Arras, and left him, after this, completely to himself and his good fortune. This latter, however, did not particularly favour him, as it brought him no further than to be a cook, and on quitting Arras he was servant here and there to different gentlemen. He also did not distinguish himself by any means by a moral mode of life, although he had been brought up by the sons of Loyola in bigoted fanaticism, but, on the contrary, he was a slave to the commonest vices, and was well acquainted with the art of thieving. This, however, did not

prevent the Jesuits, when he happened to be without bread, from giving him some support, and two years before the attempt they installed him as cook in the Jesuit college in Paris, in place of his former post in Arras; this time, however, for only a short period, as, on their recommendation, he entered into service again with a gentleman, and remained in his place until a few weeks before the attempt. Nothing more could be ascertained regarding his former life; but did it not seem quite apparent that he was nothing more than a tool in the hands of the Jesuits? He certainly himself denied having any guilty accomplices, and even adhered to this statement on being subjected to torture. He admitted, however, that eight days before the deed he confessed his whole intention to a Jesuit Father, and obtained absolution from him. Besides, he gave still further proof, which but too clearly showed that it had been the sons of Loyola who had driven the fanatical man to venture on the attempt at murder, as well as that they had also full knowledge of his intention. But how? Was not a coachman coming from Versailles at 8 o'clock in the evening of the 5th of January accosted by two gentlemen, who, it was clearly seen, wore the Jesuit costume under their mantles, and asked whether anything new had taken place at Versailles; and on the coachman saying that he knew of nothing fresh, did not the one gentleman whisper to the other, "The act has, then, failed"? Did not a cobbler's wife in Paris, called Margaret Lepin, who had a son in the Jesuit College, write on the 31st December 1756 to a relative at Langest, that she would communicate to him on the 6th of January next a piece of intelligence of which he little dreamt? Did not the Treasurer of England, Monsieur de la Boissière, in a society at Calais, in which the present position of France was vehemently being discussed, hear a Father of the Order of Jesus exclaim, "The King had better take care, as there were always other Ravallacs to be found"? Did not the Queen's Father Confessor, the Polish Jesuit Father Brigansesky—the Queen Marie Leszinska was a daughter of Stanislaus, King of Poland—make use of the following words to Count Zalutzky, the Grand Refendary of Poland, a few days before the attempt, "The Pompadour will be conquered at length if all goes as it ought to go"? In short, there was proof sufficient of the complicity of the Jesuits, and

the population of Paris, therefore, affirmed afresh that the sons of Loyola were the originators of the attempt. Indeed, they conspired together and assembled round the Jesuit College, in order to set it on fire, with all its contents, and this would most certainly have taken place had not the crowds been dispersed by an armed force. Because, however, no perfectly clear proof was brought forward, the first President of the Court of Justice, named Maupeou, who was well disposed towards the Jesuits, gave it as his opinion that it was unnecessary to enter into minor details respecting the trial, and, as the majority of the judges agreed with him in this opinion, they contented themselves with passing a single sentence, that is, on the assassin, Robert Franz Damiens. Certainly it could not be concealed that this conclusion did not altogether satisfy public opinion; but this circumstance was got over by impressing upon the execution of the criminal a character of extraordinary severity, and making a grand spectacle thereof. And this was, indeed, done, and, truly, to such a degree, that it gave the execution an impress of martyrdom, which had never before been known; indeed, the sentence was carried out with such frightfully cruel severity, that it makes one shudder to read of it. I will, therefore, make but a short allusion to the matter.

On the 28th of March, at half past 4 o'clock, Damiens was brought out of prison and dragged upon the scaffold erected on the Place de Grèves; there he was stripped naked and bound with iron chains to a stake which was raised in the centre of the scaffold. Then the hand by which the deed had been perpetrated was uncovered, bound round with sulphur, and held over a red-hot pot until it was completely consumed and reduced to charcoal. After this, large pieces of flesh were torn from his breast, arms, and legs, with red-hot tongs, and boiling oil and melted lead were poured into the wounds along with burning pitch. Lastly, four horses were yoked on to his arms and legs, and the body was thus torn slowly into four pieces. Fully three hours were employed in executing this horrible butchery, and during these three hours the miserable wretch still lived and continued to breathe. Indeed, it was only after the completion of the quartering that, losing consciousness, he at length expired. By the hideousness of the execution, the Parisians became so satisfied as to begin to forget that the

guilty accomplices had been allowed to escape through their fingers. This was not the case, however, as regards Madame de Pompadour, for she felt internally a wrathful indignation towards those who, when the King was wounded, had brought about her banishment from Versailles, that is, towards the Jesuits, and her great desire was to have her revenge upon them. Well knowing, besides, with what dangerous enemies she had to deal, she determined to proceed to work as carefully as possible, and to consider carefully every step prior to action. Before everything, for this reason, she set about gaining subtle allies over to her side, and with this object she took care to form an intimate relationship with the Duc de Choiseul, whom the King, at her instigation, had made at once his Prime Minister. This new minister was, however, such a keen observer, and clear-headed, as well as powerful and energetic man, that he soon acquired for himself the name of the French Pombal.

The Jesuits, too, had every reason to take precautions, and to collect all their forces to guard against him, and counteract the Pompadour-Choiseul coalition. But the extraordinary height to which the fraternity had risen under Louis XIV. and his grandson, Louis XV., had engendered in them such a spirit of arrogance that they considered it to be impossible that they should ever be disturbed in the enjoyment of their power, and, consequently, they opposed to that coalition merely presumption and defiance. And still further, they even allowed themselves publicly to attack and slander the King in vehement discourses from the pulpit, on account of his intimacy with Pompadour, while they hoped in their haughty giddiness that the Monarch would be so crushed thereby that he would at once dismiss his mistress with disgrace and scorn! However, this did not come about in the least degree, but, on the contrary, the ruler now gradually took a regular hatred to the Order of Jesus, and lent full belief to the assurances of his minister that for all the quarrels and evil confusion that at that time prevailed in France the Society was alone to blame. Having got him thus far, it was no longer difficult for the Pompadour to bring him to the conviction that the best method of putting an end to this would be to drive the whole Society of Jesus completely out of France; and from this time forward he only waited for a suitable opportunity

to free for ever his native land from the great plague of the black cohort.

This opportunity soon came, as just at that time Father La Vallette became notoriously bankrupt, as I have already related in the Fourth Book. The Parliament, to whom the creditors complained, decided, as the reader will remember, against the Jesuits, and condemned them to pay the debts of La Vallette. It further decided, moreover, that a body which had such institutions as those of the Society of Jesus should not have any existence or be tolerated in any well-regulated State; and upon this decision Louis XV., in the year 1762, addressed himself to the General of the Order, Ricci, at Rome, in order to induce him to effect some improvements in the statutes of the Society, at all events so far as France was concerned. Ricci proudly replied, "*Sint ut sunt, aut non sint*," that is to say, "The Jesuits must remain as they are, or cease to exist." A precisely similar reply was given also by Pope Clement XIII., to whom the King had also applied respecting the reformation of the Order, and it is beyond a doubt that both of them, the Pope as well as the General, believed that Louis XV. would allow himself to be intimidated by such an arrogant refusal. The cunning Pompadour, however, and the energetic minister took good care that this should not be the case, but, on the contrary, that he should give the Parliament free permission to submit all the statutes of the Order of Jesus to a renewed accurate examination. This took place, and the Parliament at once declared the Society of Ignatius to be one whose teaching was insulting to Christian morality, disturbing at the same time every principle of religion—as one which, in all States and in all places, was the occasion of the greatest disturbances, so that the sacred person of the ruler could no longer enjoy any security. It went on to say further:

"Such a Society could not any longer be endured, and therefore it should be abolished in France. If, however, it would suit those who had been hitherto members of the Society to retire from the Order, severing their connection, in truth and for ever, from the General in Rome, giving over to the State their colleges and other houses, and living henceforth as private individuals, their residence in France might be allowed to them; while, if they swore to be faithful subjects for the future, and to



submit themselves to the laws of the land, they might lay claim to a considerable pension."

Such was the resolution of Parliament; but the Jesuits were not agreeable to do this, and declined to take the oath. Some five or six, indeed, among the five thousand—the number to which the sons of Loyola now amounted in France—individually declared themselves prepared to render obedience to the edict of the High Court of Justice, and were formally expelled from the Order as recreant and perjured transgressors! This was, indeed, too much of a resistance to law, and, consequently, on the 9th of March 1764, the Parliament, in solemn conclave assembled, declared, almost unanimously, that all the members of the Society of Jesus should be compelled to quit France within the period of one month. This resolution was at once laid before the King for confirmation, and the whole world was now intent to know what he would do, as the said resolution was of no effect without the King's signature. The sons of Loyola still entertained hope, as they held it to be impossible that a descendant of Louis XIV. could, in bitter earnest, think of their destruction, and they had the heart of the Dauphin completely in their hands. They therefore besieged the ruler, through him, in all kinds of ways, in order that he might refuse his sanction to the resolution of Parliament. The fact is that the Monarch wavered for some time, but at length he decided against the Society. He decreed that the Society of Jesus should henceforth cease to have any existence in France or in any lands or colonies subject to French rule; further, that the non-French members of the Society should at once quit the country; and that, lastly, those born in France should only be permitted to remain in the country if they relinquished all their ecclesiastical functions, living for the future as private individuals, subject to the laws. Thus enjoined Louis XV.; and that such decree should be strictly carried into effect the Duc de Choiseul, his First Minister and Councillor, took good care.

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# BOOK VII.



THE APPARENT DEATH OF JESUITISM;

AND

ITS TERRIBLE REVIVIFICATION.

### MOTTO:

Auf, ihr Männer, rüstet euch nun mannhaft,  
Lasst euch von der Mönchrott' nicht betrügen  
Höret auf zu schlafen, wachet emsig.  
Jagt das schwarze' Gesindel aus dem Lande!  
Auf, ihr Männer, wappnet euch zum Handeln,  
Zeiget, welcher Glaube sei der eure!  
Duldet nicht, dass man euch spottend schelte,  
Lasst euch von den List'gen nicht verschlingen  
Wieder bau'n sie ihre Brütenester,  
Unsres Zornes haben sie vergessen,  
Der sie aus dem Land getrieben hatte;  
Wieder schicht sie her zu uns der Teufel!  
Wo bist Du, Luthere, mit den Spiessen,  
Diese Pfaffen-Igel sauft zu kitseln?  
Ha, rechtzeitig wird er auferstehen  
Und mit seiner scharfen Zung' euch fassen;  
Einen bittern Schmaus gibts dann, ihr Bursche,  
Ihr Berführer, Lügner und Betrüger,  
Ihr Berderber jeden guten Werkes.  
Ei ja, diese Bursche mild der Glasse,  
Die sich brüsten mit dem Namen Jesu.  
Und doch sind die ärgsten Widersacher  
Jesu—ha, mit euch, den Jesuiten,  
Wird der Teufel seine Oefen heizen,  
Sämmtlich musst ihr in der Hölle braten!

*Alte Heimchrostik.*

## CHAPTER I.

### THE ABOLITION OF THE JESUIT ORDER BY POPE CLEMENT XIV.

It may easily be supposed that the fury of the Jesuit General, Ricci, in Rome, was beyond all bounds when he became acquainted with the frightful news of the expulsion of the Jesuit Order from Portugal, Spain, and France, and this fury was shortly still more to be increased. In the year 1767, Ferdinand IV., King of Naples and Sicily, who had obtained these Crowns from his father, Charles III. of Spain, on the importunity of the latter, as also by the counsel of his very enlightened minister, Bernard Tanuzzi, determined to do away with the Society of Jesus throughout his dominions, and simply on this account, that the peace, security, and well-being of his subjects had been completely undermined by them. Scarcely had his resolution been formed than, in the night between the 20th and 21st November in the year mentioned, the whole of the Jesuits were arrested, put into carriages which were in readiness, and taken to the nearest seaports, whence they were transported in ships of war to Civita Vecchia, in the States of the Church. This was, again, another frightful blow to the Order, and the General became almost mad on account thereof; and not only he, but also the great patron and friend of his Society, the then reigning Pope Clement XIII.; so his Holiness immediately protested in the strongest manner against such a decree of the Government. But this protest had no effect whatever, as

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Ferdinand IV., or, rather, his minister Tanuzzi, strongly adhered to his determination to expel the black cohort; and still less result had a petition of complaint sent by the Pope to the Imperial Court of Vienna. On the contrary, through the strong language in which the memorial was couched, Jesuit matters were still further injured, and the immediate effect was that two other Rulers, namely, Emanuel Pinto, the Grand Master of the Knights of St. John at Malta, and the Ruler of Parma, the young and courageous Duke Ferdinand, a very near relation of the King of Spain, caused the members of the Society of Jesus to be seized over-night, and transported in a body to the States of the Church.

Thus, then, the smaller Catholic potentates imitated the example of their greater brethren—even, as we have seen, the Prince of Parma, ruler of one of the most diminutive States existing in the world, of a State, moreover, over which for centuries the Popes claimed entire control. Matters proceeded, indeed, beyond all conception, and Clement XIII. allowed himself to be completely overcome by rage. Moreover, the Jesuits, as he had always shown himself to be their submissive creature, continually stirred up the fire, and while they whispered to him that it would be the easiest matter in the world to deal with such an insignificant ruler through his apostolical power, they never desisted, until the spirit of Gregory VII. came over him and hurried him on to adopt a most foolish and eccentric method of procedure. Under date the 30th January 1768, he issued a Bull with the title of An Admonition, in which he declared the decrees of Duke Ferdinand, relative to the expulsion of the Jesuits, to be null and void, and also strictly forbade, at the same time, the Bishop of Parma to proceed against them. He also excommunicated from the Church all those connected with the preparation, proclamation, and carrying out of the said decrees, more especially the ruling Duke himself, and his minister, Du Tillot, and declared them to be deprived of all religious consolation until, through humble submission, they had again obtained the Papal favour. This was the utterance which the sons of Loyola caused Pope Clement XIII. to make; and, certainly, even the Bull *Unigenitus*, emitted during the Jansenist strife, of unhappy memory, could not have been more worthily expressed by a Hildebrand or an Innocent III.; but Clement XIII. was soon

to learn that the times of Hildebrand and Innocent had gone by, that is, that the Papal lightning of excommunication no longer terrified, but was rendered harmless by the sovereign power of the secular rulers.

No sooner had Clement XIII. caused his Bull of Condemnation, called *Monitorium*, to be put up in the principal churches of Rome, and to be proclaimed to the whole of Catholic Christendom, than a general outcry of dissatisfaction was raised against the misuse of ecclesiastical power, and, at the same time, formal protestations followed from the French, Spanish, Portuguese, and Neapolitan Governments. Indeed, in Venice, Genoa, Monaco, and other places, it was proclaimed in the streets, by sound of kettledrum and trumpet, that the Pope was not authorised to mix himself up in State affairs; and, in a word, almost all the Catholic States made the case of the Duke of Parma their own. Consequently, Clement XIII. was from all sides assailed to withdraw the so-called *Monitorium*, and to allow the Jesuits, who had certainly been the originators of the same, to fall. The more he was attacked, however, the more obstinate was he, and the louder he bestowed on his dear friends the Jesuits the most extravagant eulogies. "Sooner," declared he, "shall the world fall to pieces, than that he should allow anything to befall them, as they were the only true support of the Papacy, or (as he expressed it) of Christendom, and this itself would be in danger if they were overtaken by calamity." Consequently, not only did he not retract the Bull of Excommunication against Parma, but he required at once all the Governments, who had expelled the Jesuits, to adopt contrary measures, and to dismiss, at all events, those who had originated the decree of banishment. This drove the matter, then, to extremities, and at once verified the adage, "When one enters the wood so, it resounds again." In other words, as nothing was to be gained in the way of friendly representations, the Bourbon Courts resolved upon more serious measures, and the King of the Two Sicilies seized Benevent and Ponte Corvo, while the King of France, took possession of Avignon, together with the county of Venessain. These were Papal lands upon Neapolitan and French territories, to which the kings mentioned had no claim whatever; but they desired to testify to the Pope, that, if he wished for war, he must abide by

the consequences ; and they gave him to understand, that even the States of the Church would be snatched from him if he did not yield. It did not come to this, as Clement XIII. died suddenly from apoplexy in the night of the 3rd February 1769, and all further violent measures at once ceased, as it was hoped that it might be possible to cause a much more tolerant Prince of the Church to succeed him. This actually occurred, but not without much trouble, as the Jesuits had on their side a considerable proportion of the Cardinals, with whom the election of Pope rested, and these did everything in their power to obtain a victory. So it happened that immediately on the first scrutiny—the conclave took place on the 15th February 1769—most of the votes, although not a decisive number, fell upon Cardinal Chigi, a declared friend of the Jesuits ; and he would certainly have been elected as Pope had not Cardinals Orsini and Bernis, in the name of the Kings of Naples and France, declared that no election could be valid until the foreign Cardinals, residing in Naples, Paris, Lisbon, and elsewhere, had arrived. Still, even after the appearance of these prelates, it remained doubtful whether the Jesuitically-disposed party might not prevail, as this latter formed a firmly-united body, while the remaining Cardinals were more or less divided as to their votes. But why should I dilate further ? Finally, besides Chigi, the lot fell successively upon the Cardinals Serbelloni, Stoppani, Fantuzzi, and Sersale, and the majority of the princes of the Church were compelled to come to the opinion, that if the tiara was not placed upon a candidate approved of by the Bourbon Courts—as it was not so much the election of a Pope as of a Bishop of Rome that was in question—then the rulers of France, Spain, Naples, and Portugal would appoint some Patriarch who should be independent of Rome. Thus alarmed, most of the votes, on the 18th May, fell upon Cardinal Ganganelli, who, from the opinions hitherto held by him, gave occasion to hope that, by making concessions, he would be in a position to re-establish peace with the enraged Monarchs.

Giovanni Vicenzo Antonio Ganganelli\* belonged to the

\* The Jesuits, latterly, gave out that Giovanni Ganganelli was by birth a German heretic of the name of Johann Georg Lange, and had only come to Rome in the later period of his life, whither he had wandered as a journeyman printer, in order to change his religion ; of course, however, merely ostensibly, as he remained inwardly a heretic, a fact which the abolition of the

number of those few cardinals who had declared themselves to be against the views of the Pope in the Congregation which Clement XIII. had held regarding the affairs of the Jesuits and those of the Duke of Parma, and he persisted in his anti-Jesuitical notions, as he possessed a strength of character not easily to be shaken, although Clement, on that account, caused him to feel the full weight of the Papal displeasure. It was to be feared, after he had obtained the tiara, that the Jesuits might still be able to bring him over to their side—that he might be treated with the same persistency as his predecessor. But, assuredly, this was not the case with him; and, on this account, the sons of Loyola were filled with unspeakable rage when they became aware of the result of the Conclave. They believed nought else than that it was a question of their existence, as, even though the new Pope took the name of his predecessor, and called himself Clement XIV.—and in this name lay a very good augury for them—he would, doubtless, at once accede to the demands of the Bourbon Powers respecting the complete abolition of the Jesuit Order. Besides, not only did they believe this, but a number of other people also held the same view, particularly those kings and rulers of whom I have already spoken. On this account the whole world was the more astonished when Clement XIV., immediately on his accession to the government, dispensed to the Society of Jesus, for their missions in distant regions of the earth, entirely new and most extensively indulgent privileges, and some weeks later, on the 15th of July 1769, wrote to the King of France that it was quite impossible for him to overthrow, or to be too hard upon, such a praiseworthy institution as the Sons of Loyola, which had been confirmed by nineteen of his predecessors. People now asked themselves, could they be so remarkably deceived in

Jesuit Order distinctly proved. In all this, however, there was not a word of truth, for Giovanni was the son of a good Catholic physician, and was born on the 31st October 1705, at San Arcangelo, near Rimini. Originally destined to the study of medicine, he made no inconsiderable progress in the sciences. On the death of his father, however, he, at the age of eighteen, entered into the Franciscan Minoriten Order, and devoted himself with much zeal to the study of theology. Latterly he attracted the notice of the keenly-observant Pope Benedict XIV., who entrusted him with the important post of a Consultant of the Inquisition. The successor of Benedict, however, Clement XIII., raised him, in the year 1759, to the dignity of a Cardinal, and from this time forth, up to the period of the Jesuit complications, took counsel with him in all important State affairs.



Ganganelli, or had the latter been already tamed and brought over by the cunning Loyolites to favour their cause? No, neither the one nor the other, but the new Pope wished to secure the Society of Jesus, in order that he might not be impeded from carrying out his intentions through cabals, stratagems, and deeds of violence. He did not wish to run counter at the beginning to the College of Cardinals, of which he anticipated nothing good from its friendliness to the Jesuits, in order that he might set to work the less undisturbed with his plans, and be able to succeed in them. On this account he put his trust in none, not even in those by whom he was immediately surrounded, and he did not even nominate a Cardinal secretary of state, that is, a minister of foreign affairs. He rather, on the contrary, preferred to treat directly himself with the foreign Powers, and all the correspondence with the Kings of Portugal, Spain, France, and Naples, as well as with their ministers, such as Pombal, Aranda, Choiseul, Du Tillot, &c., passed through his own hands. So surely did the new Pope understand how to shroud his true views in the cloud of secrecy; and much, in some political circles, as people were puzzled, his transactions were, at least, carried on in such a way that he attempted to place himself on a good footing with the Royal Courts so deeply insulted by the proceedings of his predecessor—endeavouring not only to allow the split which had already occurred between them and Rome to extend no further, but altogether to do away with the disagreement by adopting conciliatory steps. He at once revoked the *Monitorium* issued by Clement XIII. against the Duke of Parma, and formally freed this Prince from excommunication. Thereupon he begged the King of Portugal to keep again, as formerly, an ambassador in Rome, and at once sent on his part a Nuncius as his representative at Lisbon. He did precisely the same thing with the Court of Spain, and here, also, had the good fortune to be met half way. The Governments of Naples, Venice, and Tuscany conducted themselves rather differently, as they did away with a number of cloisters, and, of their own accord, instituted numerous reforming innovations; but, instead of resenting this with fire and sword, Clement XIV. remained quiet, even with the danger of being blamed by many for his inaction, by some for secretly favouring these innovations. In short, he clearly wished to re-

establish peace, and displayed by his conciliatory acts a moderation and benevolence which had not for centuries been shown by the See of Rome. One stone of offence he could not, however, remove, with all his complaisance, namely, the Jesuitical scandal, and all the Bourbon Courts intimated to him unanimously, through their ambassadors, that no formal reconciliation could take place, and no restitution of the territories of Benevent, Ponte Corvo, Avignon, and Venessain, be made, no Peter's Pence, and no contributions and other moneys sent to Rome, unless the Society of Jesus were formally expelled from the Roman Curie. In vain did the Holy Father, by Cardinals Bernis and Orsini, and by the Abbé Azparu, who represented the French, Spanish and Neapolitan Courts, beg that he might have time for consideration, "as he could not suppress such a celebrated Order without having reasons which would justify him in the eyes of the world, and particularly in those of God." In vain did he defer the affair for three full years, in the hope of tiring out the Bourbon Courts by temporising; in vain, finally, did he expect these latter to be satisfied with certain reforms which he promised to make in the Jesuitical establishment, and, in fact, the beginning of which was the closure, between the years 1770 and 1772, of several of the seminaries in Rome, Frascati, and Bologna. The Bourbon Courts, in short, which now included that of the piously-bigoted Maria Theresa of Austria, categorically required the complete abolition of the Order,\* and, consequently, the Pope was compelled, for good or evil, to accommodate himself to this step. I said for good or evil, and did this on good grounds. Although Clement XIV., as long as he was Cardinal, strenuously opposed Jesuit attacks; although he might have been completely convinced as to the injurious tenor of Jesuit morality and teaching; although the sons of Loyola unreservedly placed obedience to their General far higher than that to the Holy See; although, on these grounds, they often denied their services to the latter, and, indeed, openly opposed it; although, lastly, the whole of the remaining Orders, as well as most of the secular clergy, lived at enmity with the Loyolites, and longed for nothing better than to be released from their

\* The first time this occurred was in the beginning of the year 1769; it was repeated in July 1769, again in the summer of 1770, and, lastly, in March 1772.

arrogance; although all this was the case, it must also be admitted, on the other side, that no institution had been of so much use to the Papacy as that of the Loyolites, as it was they alone who, at the time of the reforming commotion against the supremacy of Rome, had saved the greater part of the Catholic dominions, and in later times had constituted themselves the champions for the Papal sublime rights against the pretensions of secular monarchs. Besides, could it be concealed that the Pope who ventured to call the Order of Jesus into question undertook an act of far greater daring than a warrior who placed his cannon against them in the field of battle? while, too, every representative of Christ on earth who had contemplated anything of the kind before—I call to remembrance among the Popes, Sixtus V., Clement VIII., and Innocent XIII.—had been quickly removed from the face of the earth. Only dire necessity could have induced Clement XIV. to fulfil the wishes of the monarchs, and thus he at length issued the Brief that decreed the abolition of the Jesuit Order.

Though bearing date the 21st of July 1773, it was not at that time made public. The Pope, first of all, wished that its contents might be proved to be correct, and on that account nominated a Commission or Congregation, consisting of Cardinals Corsini, Marefoschi, Caraffa, Zelada, and Casoli, of the Prelates Macedonio and Albani, and, lastly, of two celebrated theologians, Brother Mamachi, a Dominican, and Brother Christopher de Monferrate, a Franciscan. These nine assembled daily with His Holiness, and, with him, went over the contents of the Brief word by word; each of them, however, was solemnly pledged not to divulge a single syllable as to their transactions, and thus, in fact, no one knew what was going on. On the 16th of August the consultation was brought to a conclusion, and the Pope then subscribed the document, which, from the words with which it began, received the title *Dominus ac Redemptor noster*. It was an act of great importance, as the Pope thereby signed the death-warrant of an Order which, shortly before, from its power, had been in a position to shake the whole world; and he thereby, too, sealed his own fate. He, also, had a clear presentiment of this, as he exclaimed while signing, “I hereby attest the proximity of my death.” But, nevertheless, his hand did not tremble, the appearance of his signature being as firm

and determined as ever, and it was apparent that he had acted with the most complete and well-considered determination.\*

\* As characteristic of this Brief, I will here extract a few of the most important passages of the same :—

"§ 17. . . . Nevertheless one perceives, from the contents and expressions of these apostolical enactments, that in this Society, immediately on its institution, various seeds of discord and jealousy germinated, not only in its interior economy, but also in regard to other regular Orders, the secular priesthood, the academies, universities, and public schools, and even against the princes in whose States they had been received, and that contentions soon sprang up in respect to the quality and nature of the vows, the time of admission to the same, the power of expelling members, the admission of these latter to the holy functions without the priestly office, and the solemn vows, according to the rules and regulations of the Council of Trent, and of Pope Pius V.; then, again, also, in respect to the unlimited power with which the General of this Order was endowed, as to dogmas, schools, freedoms, and privileges, which the bishops, and other persons holding ecclesiastical and secular offices, judged to be antagonistic to their jurisdiction and prerogatives. Finally, there were never wanting accusations of the greatest consequence which were made against members of this Society, especially that such, from their audacious, vehement, and persecuting zeal were continually disturbing the peace and quiet of Christendom."

"§ 21. . . . We have remarked, to our deep regret, that our admonitions to them to serve God, and not to mix themselves up with other matters, especially secular and political, as well as many other practical measures, have been almost powerless and of no effect, with the view of dispersing and extinguishing the very many disturbances, accusations, and complaints against this frequently-mentioned Society, and that numbers of our predecessors in vain gave themselves much trouble on this account in re-establishing the desired peace in the Church, namely, Popes Urban VII., Clement IX., Clement X., Clement XI., Clement XII., Alexander VII., Alexander VIII., Innocent X., Innocent XI., Innocent XII., Innocent XIII., and Benedict XIV. Our predecessors had to undergo much vexation on that account; indeed, Pope Innocent XI., driven by necessity, went so far as to forbid the Society to receive and invest novices. Further, Innocent XIII. was compelled to threaten them with the same punishment, and Benedict XIV. closed the visitation of the inspection of the houses and colleges in the dominions of our well-beloved son in Christ, the most faithful King of Portugal and Algarvien. Lastly, the Holy See has received no consolation, no assistance, from the Society, and no advantage to Christendom from the Apostolical Brief, which was rather extorted than obtained from our predecessor Clement XIII., of holy memory—a Brief in which the Society of Jesus was much extolled and freshly constituted."

"§ 23. . . . After so many and violent storms, all well-disposed people hoped to see once more the much wished-for day which should bring peace and quiet. There occurred, however, only still more vehement and dangerous outbreaks as long as this Clement XIII. sat upon the Chair of St. Peter, as stronger complaints and cries were raised, and even here and there the most dangerous revolts, rebellions, and scandals broke out; the more, then, was the bond of Christian love snapped and, indeed, torn, and the hearts of the faithful incited to party spirit, hatred, and enmity; and it lastly went so far that even those who inherited from their forefathers piety and magnanimity towards the generally esteemed Society, and prominently our beloved sons in Christ, the Kings of Spain, France, Portugal, and the Two Sicilies, saw themselves constrained to banish and expel the members of the Order out of their kingdoms, because they looked upon this as a necessary measure in order to prevent Christ being seized and torn out of the lap of the Holy Mother Church."

"§ 25. . . . In consideration that the Society mentioned no longer produces rich fruit, and fails to be of any more use in the way for which it

As soon as the Brief of Abolition was complete, its accomplishment was resolved on, and, indeed, this occurred on the night of the said 16th of August at half-past 1 o'clock. Precisely at that hour the whole of the Corsican Guards advanced and occupied the gates of all the Jesuit colleges and houses in Rome, so that no one could pass in or out. A few minutes after the Papal commissaries, followed by the whole corps of constables or city watchmen, with a prelate and a notary, penetrated into the houses, and immediately assembled all that were present and read to them the act dissolving their Order. They were thereupon allowed three days for consideration whether they would continue to live in the same houses, under the supervision of an ordinary priest, without conducting any religious worship, or whether they would rather completely retire into the world and become, as may be said, secularised. In each case they would receive a suitable sum, in order to live in future; and those who contemplated returning to their relatives and leading a family life, were, in addition, promised a proper travelling allowance. On the other hand, the whole of the Fathers must without delay leave off the costume of their Order, with which view secular clothing, which had been already prepared, was given to them. In this manner were the sons of Loyola present in Rome treated. As regards their General, on the other hand, the often-mentioned Lorenzo Ricci, a slight difference was made. In the case of this individual, who, with his assistants, lived in the charming profess-house *Al Jesús*, in Rome, an especially strong guard was placed before the door, and then his solemn oath was taken that he would deliver over into the hands of the Papal officials the whole of his possessions, as well as those of the Order. Thereupon, all the rooms, and other places, the profess-houses as well as the remaining Jesuit houses in Rome, were most carefully searched, the archives, chests, and treasuries sealed, and all

was instituted; indeed, as it is scarcely possible, as long as it exists, to re-establish true and durable peace in the Church: from these weighty motives, on mature consideration, we, in the plenitude of Apostolic power, abolish the said Society, suppress it, and dissolve it, and do away with and abolish all and every one of their offices, services, and administrations, their houses, schools, colleges, hospitals, and all their plans for assembling, in whatever kingdom they may be situated, or in whatever province and dominion. We likewise abolish and do away with for ever their statutes, habits and customs, decrees and constitutions, even when sealed by oath or Apostolical confirmation; so that from this day henceforth the Society of Jesus no longer exists."

ingress to them strictly watched by double sentries. His assistants were also removed from the profess-house to other localities, where they were separately confined in order the more effectually to be able to prevent all embezzlements. But it soon appeared that even these measures were not sufficiently stringent, as, on the night of the 18th of August, a thick smoke was suddenly perceived to issue from the chimneys of the German and Hungarian Colleges, and on closer investigation it was found that this was occasioned by papers which the Jesuits had committed in masses to the flames. In consequence of this, Fathers Stefanucci, Favre, Benincosa, and Coltraro, with some other participators, were conducted to the Castle of St. Angelo, and strictly questioned as to what had been the contents of the burnt papers. They, however, confessed nothing; as much, equally, as could be got out of their General and his assistants, from whom it was desired to ascertain where the ready-money and capital, which must certainly have been in the profess-houses, as well as in the colleges, had flown. Indeed, they admitted nothing at all; but at the same time made themselves appear to be as innocent and stupid as if they were unable to count five. The General Ricci had even the foolish assurance to affirm that his Order had never possessed ready-money or bonds; that such a supposition, indeed, was an idle invention of fanciful or evil-disposed persons, and that he could not imagine how people of any sense should not be ashamed even to suggest such a fable.

Precisely the same affirmation was made by his secretary Comoli, as well as by his assistants John de Gusman of Portugal, Ignatius Romberg of Germany, Carl Koryki of France, Francis Montes of Spain, and Antony Gongo of Italy, and, truly, with such a unanimity that it was at once apparent that this little argument had been learnt by heart. This was, indeed, too much of an open bravado for the Judge, named Andreatti, charged with the investigation, and he therefore gave orders, on the 3rd September, that the General, together with his secretary and assistants, should at once be conveyed to the Castle of St. Angelo, in the hope that they would be made more pliable by strict confinement. This removal was immediately effected, and those arrested were closely confined; but there was no question, however, of any of them becoming more compliant, and the

General Ricci, in particular, kept to his false declaration up to the day of his death, on the 24th of November 1775, although it was then pretty well proved that the money of the Jesuits had been for several years, as a precautionary measure, most carefully concealed and taken care of by some of the Order, especially those in high stations, including a couple of Cardinals. One feels overcome by a peculiar sensation when a mighty one of the earth, whose glory had at one time filled the world, comes to a miserable end in reduced circumstances; and this feeling, also, overtakes us when we contemplate the extinction of the Jesuit Order. It had become gigantic during the short period of its existence, more gigantic than any other institution ever hitherto founded by mankind, as it numbered no fewer than 22,792 consecrated members, without taking into account the many associates, novices, and lay brothers. Their possessions, for ten years, extended over the whole world, and its Generals,\* who directed the entire arrangements from their profess-house palace in Rome, commanded such riches and dominions † as it

\* It may interest the reader to be made acquainted with the names of all the Jesuit Generals, and I therefore append the following list of them :—

	Elected.
1. Ignatius Loyola, Spaniard . . . . .	1541
2. Jacob Lainez, Spaniard . . . . .	1558
3. Francisco Borgia, Duke of Gandia, Spaniard . . . . .	1568
4. Everhard Mercurien, Belgian . . . . .	1578
5. Claudio Aquaviva, Italian . . . . .	1581
6. Mucius Vitelleschi, Italian . . . . .	1615
7. Vincenti Caraffa, Italian . . . . .	1646
8. Francesco Piccolomini, Italian . . . . .	1649
9. Alessandro Gothofredi, Italian . . . . .	1652
10. Godwin Nickel, German . . . . .	1662
11. Johan Paul Oliva, Italian . . . . .	1664
12. Carl de Royelle, Belgian . . . . .	1682
13. Thyrius Gonzalez, Spaniard . . . . .	1697
14. Maria Angelo Tamburini, Italian . . . . .	1706
15. Franz Retz, German . . . . .	1730
16. Ignatius Visconti, Italian . . . . .	1751
17. Aloys Centurioni, Italian . . . . .	1755
18. Laurentio Ricci, Italian . . . . .	1758

† As regards the Dominion, it was divided into five Assistances :—

- (1.) The Italian, with the provinces of Rome, Sicily, Naples, Milan, and Venice.
- (2.) The Portuguese, with the provinces of Portugal, Goa, Malabar, and Japan (including Siam, Tonquin, and Cochin China), China, Brazil, and Maramnon.
- (3.) The Spanish, with the provinces of Toledo, Castille, Arragon, Bestia, Sardinia, Peru, Chili, Terra Firma, Mexico, Philippines, Paraguay, Quito.
- (4.) The French, with the provinces of the Isle of France, Aquitania, Lyons, Toulouse, Champagne.

would not be easy to find any ruler able to boast of. But as regards these two things, I mean great riches and great dominions, the Jesuits were proud even to madness, and, at the same time, avaricious to the extent of meanness. Indeed, yet more—while possessing much, they wished to acquire all, and, in order to do this, they did not refrain from the most frightful crimes, even including the murder of reigning sovereigns.

Was it any wonder, then, that by degrees they at length found enemies both in God and men, or that the whole of Christendom longed to be rid of them? Thus it happened that nowhere throughout Europe, and not even in Rome itself, where their head-quarters were, was a hand or foot raised for them on their expulsion and abolition; and they who in their self-inflicted fall fancied to the last moment that they were almost demi-gods, as to power, now blushed to confess that the first begging monk to be met with enjoyed as much consideration as themselves.

Verily, for 100 or 150 years it would have occasioned, at least in Rome, and perhaps elsewhere, a small revolt if force had been exercised, as in this case, against them; but now all had become changed, and the commandant of the Corsican Guard, who had caused his troops to have their weapons carefully loaded before surrounding the Jesuit houses, must have smilingly confessed to himself that he had looked upon the enemy as much more formidable than he proved to be. In spite of all this, however, people would be entirely deceived were they to believe that the sons of Loyola had quietly submitted and resigned themselves to their fate, like fallen pigeons, or that while they had been struck on the right cheek, according to Christian precept, they had offered the left also. That would have been equivalent to conceiving that from wolves they had suddenly become sheep, and such a speedy change of character could not so easily be brought about. And, in fact, such was not the case in the present instance, for the Jesuits did their utmost in order to parry the hard blow that had been dealt them, and tried eventually to repair

- (5.) The German, with the provinces of Upper Germany, Lower Germany, Upper Rhine, Austria, Bohemia, Netherlands, Flanders, Poland, Lithuania, and England.

An enormous dominion certainly, especially when it is considered that in each one of the provinces there never existed less than twenty colleges and other Jesuit houses.



it; they played the part of the warrior who, when he is attacked, draws his sword and deals blows right and left of him. But much more had they resort to their old accustomed weapons of cunning and secret mischief, combined with calumny, lies, and hypocrisy, in order to undermine the position of the enemy gradually, and from behind their backs. Indeed, they did not even disdain the use of other yet more effectual means, whereby they might be able to overcome a powerful enemy more quickly and surely; and what is to be understood by these other means the reader, if he has not already divined, will very shortly be made acquainted with. Before everything they desired to make Clement XIV. suffer for his decree of abolition; as, firstly, they could not hope to be re-established so long as he reigned, and also the world must be convinced that the crime of laying hands upon the Jesuit Order could be expiated by no less a punishment from Heaven than that of instant death. Therefore the Pope was declared, first of all, to be a sacrilegious heretic, a blasphemer, and as having attained the Curie by bribery, and thereupon reports were spread abroad that each of the four monarchs who had demanded the abolition of the Society of Jesus, and more especially Clement XIV., who had in such a nefarious way given his acquiescence to this demand, would in the shortest time be called out of this world by sudden death.

These reports were repeated, from time to time, in various ways, and throughout the whole of Rome it was whispered about that the Pope would not be in a position to open the next year of jubilee. There was once even written overnight, on the gates of the Vatican, the capital letters P. S. S. V., and when, on the following day, there was a question as to the meaning of this secret, the interpretation of it was given thus: "*Præsto sara sede vacante*," "Soon will the Holy See be vacant." But this was still not enough, for, as the letters had been obliterated in all haste, there appeared a second time, in spite of sentinels, the same, though, it is true, with a slight alteration, as I. S. S. S. V., that is: "*In Settembre sara sede vacante*." The death of the Pope was thus now foretold at a fixed time, and it could be no longer doubted that a malicious intention lay at the bottom of this. Consequently, the strictest investigation was instituted, and it was discovered that a fanatical

female inhabitant of the neighbouring cloister of nuns, of the name of Bernerdina Beruzzi, was more or less implicated in the matter. But, on the other hand, a conviction obtained that this scheme was not a creation of her own brain, but that she had only served as an instrument in the hands of a hidden party, namely, that of the fallen Jesuits. Several of them who had made themselves especially suspected were thereupon arrested; the reports and prophesies of the near death of the Pope were, however, not discontinued on this account, they rather, indeed, the more increased, and permeated throughout the whole of Italy, Germany, and all the Christian States of the world. Thus, at length, there was with many, of necessity, a conviction that an event of great importance was to take place in the approaching September, and even the most enlightened men could not prevent themselves from being haunted from time to time by this belief. Yet still there was really no ground for this idea, as Clement XIV. was in the enjoyment of the most perfect health at the time he signed the Bull *Dominus ac Redemptor noster*. Besides, could it be supposed that his powerful frame, as well as his lively and joyous spirits, at all indicated, in the least degree, that he might be suddenly overtaken with a mortal illness? Further, in spite of being possessed of the best of appetites, he lived most moderately, and his whole appearance was still so youthful that he might have passed for a man of some fifty years of age, instead of one of sixty-nine.

It happened that in the Passion Week of 1774, after having partaken of a frugal but heartily-enjoyed dinner, he became aware of an internal commotion, accompanied by a feeling of great cold. From this moment he lost his distinct and clear voice, and was overtaken by a description of catarrh coupled with great hoarseness. His mouth and throat became inflamed, and he experienced a feeling of great burning in the neck. At the same time he was affected with nausea and uneasiness, and in order to be able to breathe he found it necessary to keep his mouth wide open. Thereupon followed vomiting from time to time, with stabbing pains in the abdomen. His stomach also became swollen, and his hair fell out, the nails of his fingers, even, no longer cleaved to the flesh, and began to drop off; and at the same time he experienced such a weakness in his feet that he was constantly compelled to sit down after the shortest walk.

In a word, it seemed to him as if his whole interior was becoming dissolved, and, in consequence, such an absolute prostration set in that in the course of a few weeks he looked more like a shadow than a man.

What kind of exceptional illness was this, then, that had so suddenly overtaken a previously healthy man? He did not for an instant conceal from himself what was the matter with him, but at once freely expressed his conviction to his body-surgeon, Dr. Matteo, that he had been poisoned, and the latter entirely concurred with him in this opinion. Unfortunately the antidotes which were employed for the poor patient had not the desired effect, as it seemed apparent that it was not a question of mineral but of vegetable poison, which had directly penetrated into the vascular system, and thus the wasting of the whole organism progressed unimpeded. On the 10th September a fainting fit occurred, and on coming round he felt himself so weak that he believed he could not survive another day. Still, his strong constitution conquered on this occasion. A week later, however, it seemed that his abdomen had become completely inflamed, as if on fire, and at the same time he was seized with a most violent fever. The pains also increased so frightfully that it was impossible to see him without feeling the greatest pity. At length, on the 22nd of September 1774, death put an end to his horrible condition, and his much-tried spirit took its departure at 13 o'clock according to Italian time, corresponding to 8 o'clock in the morning German time.

Throughout the whole of Rome the unanimous opinion was that the Pope had died from poison, and, indeed, from the so-called "aquetta," which is prepared in Apulia and Calabria, as this does not at once prove fatal, but, according to the dose, it may be predicted beforehand at what time the person poisoned must die. Even, indeed, did anyone have a doubt whether poison had been the cause of death, that doubt must have been at once resolved by the appearance of the corpse, when, on the day following the death, the 23rd September, the process of embalming the body was commenced. The face then presented a leaden colour, while the lips and nails had become quite black. Ash-coloured stripes showed themselves, too, under the skin, on the arms, sides, thighs, and feet, and on other parts of the body blue spots appeared, as if from coagulation of the blood. The

body was opened in order to remove the intestines, which was effected with considerable difficulty, while the whole presented the appearance as if eaten up with something resembling cancer. They were immediately placed in an especially well-closed vessel as the odour was most offensive, while the examination was proceeded with. Not an hour, however, had elapsed before the vessel burst with a loud explosion, and the gases issuing from the intestines produced so frightful a stench that it was impossible any longer to remain in the chamber, and the embalming process had to be discontinued for that day.

On the following day, the 24th, when they came again, it was found that decomposition had made rapid progress, such as never occurs in ordinary cases, but alone in those of poisoning, the face and hands having become quite black, while on the skin appeared thick blisters filled with a noisome lymph, and when these were cut or pressed an odour was emitted entirely similar to that coming from the intestines, and it was, indeed, necessary to avoid coming near the body as much as possible. But this was still not the least difficulty in carrying out the embalment, as the skin had become detached from almost the whole body of the deceased, as in the case of a putrid carcase. Indeed the nails came off, and the hair remained on the pillows on which the head rested. Under such circumstances embalment was, of course, quite out of the question, and it became necessary to hasten to place the body quickly into a coffin before the limbs became entirely separated; and the Roman people had, for this time, to forego the spectacle of the exhibition of a Papal corpse in full Pontifical robes.

It may, then, be admitted as certain that Clement XIV. had died from poison; but the question was, who had poisoned him? The people of Rome quickly gave an answer, and exclaimed as from one throat, "This the Jesuits have done." A precisely similar opinion was held by a greater part of the rest of the world, and, while it was generally allowed that the sons of Loyola had a remarkable interest in seeing their deadly enemy removed from this world, such an opinion must have come tolerably near the truth. They—the members, that is, of the extinct Order of Jesus—had perpetrated an act of revenge; and that it was not contrary to their morals that such an act might be accomplished by poison or dagger we have already sufficiently

learned in detail in a former Book. Besides, they ventured to hope, from the large party disposed towards them in the College of Cardinals, that a head might be given to the Church, by the next Conclave, entertaining entirely different feelings towards the Society of Jesus than those of Clement Ganganelli; and, that such a hope might be realised as soon as possible, was not the murder of a man but a trifle in the eyes of the Loyolites? Let this be as it may—let the poisoning of Pope Clement XIV. have been the work of the Jesuits or not—it is, in any case, certain that they testified infinite delight over the removal of their deadly enemy, and they slandered his memory in such a way as if he had been an outcast from mankind. They called him a cheat and a weak-minded creature at the same time, and published a number of pamphlets about him, wherein they pictured his frightful tyranny in the blackest colours, while, respecting the Abolition Brief (that is, the Bull *Dominus ac Redemptor noster*), they declared it to be swarming with absurdities, lies, and contradictions, and of no more value than to be put into the fire and burnt to ashes.

They thus went on for several years, without in the least respect relaxing in their fury and malignant joy, hoping that the more they stormed and inveighed against him the sooner they would succeed in converting the whole of Christendom to their views. When they saw, however, that this method of proceeding had exactly the opposite effect, and that not a few, owing to the foolishly vehement insults of the Jesuits, openly pointed them out as the murderers of Ganganelli, they all at once changed front and adopted quite different tactics, in order to nullify the abolition which had been decreed. They suddenly spoke of the deceased Clement with deep regret, and, amidst audible sighs, produced a document, affirmed to be autographic, containing a complete abrogation of the Bull *Dominus ac Redemptor noster*.

"Scarcely," so did they advance in detailed explanation, "had the Pope attached his signature to the pernicious Brief than he was overtaken by extraordinary qualms of conscience, as to the mischief that the abolition of the Society of Jesus had caused throughout the whole of Christendom; whereupon he thought to re-establish it, as far as possible, and thus came to the determination, through an equally

solemn as voluntary revocation respecting the abolished Society, to bear testimony to their righteousness, in order that they might the more certainly be re-established in their former position by his successor. He had thus produced this renunciation, signed by his own hand, and given it over to the Grand Penitentiary and Cardinal, Boschi, with an order that he should place it before the next Pope; quite quietly, however, he it remarked, in order that the Rulers of France, Spain, Portugal and Naples might not again take alarm. Unfortunately, the now deceased Boschi, had neglected to comply with this order, but a copy of the revocation had, at the same time, been taken by all the high dignitaries of the Church. Fear, nevertheless, prevented the document being brought to the light of day, and it was not till eighteen years after the death of Clement XIV., that this was ventured upon, because entirely different rulers then occupied the Bourbon thrones."

Thus spoke the Jesuits, and they were shameless enough actually to openly flourish the revocation before the world. I say "shameless enough," as one has only to run through this document, which breathes the spirit of a Hildebrand, to be certain that it never could have been executed by Clement XIV., but that "it was a subsequent production of the Jesuits themselves, which had only been manufactured in order to bring about their re-establishment therewith." It would be a misfortune to lose a single word of this, as even the friends of the Society of Jesus must now admit that the invention of Clement's Revocation was nothing more or less than a downright invention incapable of defence.

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## CHAPTER II.

THE RE-ESTABLISHMENT OF THE JESUIT ORDER ; OR, THE  
NULLIFICATION OF THE BULL "DOMINUS AC RE-  
DEMPTOR NOSTER."

ON the 16th of August in the year 1773, the Bull was published by which Clement XIV. declared the Order of Jesus to be abolished, suppressed, and done away with, precisely as in his time Clement V. abolished the Order of the Knights Templars. Pius V. the Order of the Humilitants, Urban VIII the Congregation of Convent Brethren, and Innocent X. the Order of the Holy Basilus ; and, from the day above named, the Society of Jesus had no longer any legal existence—at least. no existence according to ecclesiastical law.

Be it also well understood that those Governments who had expressly demanded the abolition of the said Society permitted the publication as well as the carrying into effect of the Bull, and, consequently, it was at once officially published in Portugal, Spain, France, Naples, and Parma. Exactly the same took place in Venice and Tuscany, and generally throughout all Italy, and the Kingdom of Poland likewise followed the good example without any special opposition. Only in Germany were there many different opinions ; and, particularly, the celebrated Empress Maria Theresa, might be singled out as the one who, on account of her extraordinary bigotry, resisted with hands and feet, that any injury should befall the pious Fathers in her country. In vain did her broad-thinking son, afterwards the Emperor Joseph II.,

urge her not to oppose the wishes of the other European monarchs; in vain, also, did her Prime Minister, Kaunitz, entreat her—the same it was who proved to her that she had been vilely betrayed by her Father Confessor, Father Parhamer, as regards State secrets entrusted to him in Confession. She would not yield until Pope Clement XIV., in a special letter addressed to her, as a true-hearted daughter of the Church, explained the necessity for abolishing the said Order, and carrying into effect the Abolition Bull.

Only then was the Bull promulgated, and the Society of Jesus ceased to exist in Austria also; but, the closing of the Jesuit Colleges, and the confiscation of their goods was proceeded with in such a mild manner that it could be easily seen that the Ruler was still actuated by their influence. Exactly in the same spirit were the sons of Loyola dealt with in Bavaria, and here, as in Austria, time was allowed them to secure their ready-money and capital, especially their movable effects, together with their archives and papers. Facts proved in this way that the reports in circulation as to the riches of the Society of Jesus had not been exaggerated in the least degree, but had rather fallen short of the truth, as when at length the sons of Loyola were proceeded against in Bavaria, it came out that the immovable property alone of the College of Ingolstadt amounted to upwards of three millions of gulden, and that of Munich even to much more. Different other things were also found which strongly compromised the Order of Jesus, as, for example, a crucifix, which, when it was kissed, the person kissing it was killed by a dagger springing out, as well as an executioner's sword with the remarkable inscription, *Hoc ferrum centum et decem reis (regibus?) capita demessuit*. But the most cruel shock was experienced by the discovery, in an underground room in the Munich College, where there was a vault entirely concealed, of eleven human skeletons hung in chains, which were all dressed in Jesuit clothing, and had apparently fallen victims to the supreme justice of the Order of Jesus. Naturally enough, the Electoral Government Commissary, who had made the discovery, wished to institute an investigation; but endeavours were made in high places to hush the matter up, and the Commissary had to be satisfied with the declaration of the Rector, that these were eleven brethren who had lost their reason, and who, on



account of their insanity, it was necessary to confine in chains. It is easy to see, from this trifling example, how infinitely dear the Order of Jesus had become to the Crown of Bavaria, as it had even covered such notorious things with a veil of blind love in order not to allow the Society to sink in public estimation. Not less zealous friends of the Order of Jesus were some of the South German Prince Priests, while the Bishops of Eichstadt, Basel, and Augsburg, even gave indications of wishing to set at defiance the Papal Abolition Bull. Matters did not, however, proceed so far, as the rest of the Church Princes of Germany strongly objected, lest through a predilection for the Jesuits a breach should occur with the Papacy; thus the Society of Jesus was abolished throughout the whole of the Catholic countries and small States of Germany. I said, "in the whole of the Catholic countries of Germany," but not correctly, as there was an exception in the Catholic Province of Silesia, which King Frederick the Great of Prussia had shortly before incorporated in his kingdom. According to the Peace of Breslau, the *status quo* in everything relating to religion was guaranteed by this King as regards Silesia, and he, consequently, believed that he was also necessitated to maintain the *status quo* as affecting the Institution of the Jesuits. He apparently, however, was not in the least disposed to take the Order of Jesus under his protection; but he held by the sons of Loyola thus far in order that educational matters, which had for a long time been completely conducted there by these Fathers, should not suffer loss. This appears from a letter which he wrote to Voltaire on the subject; and in order to give proof of this, I may be allowed to quote here some passages from the document mentioned, dated 18th November 1777:—

"We have none," writes the great King, "who are capable of conducting the classes; we had neither Fathers of the Oratorium, nor Piarists, and the remainder of the monks are sunk in the deepest ignorance. I must, therefore, hold by the Jesuits, otherwise the schools will fall, and, consequently, I choose the first evil. Besides, if the Order had to be abolished, the University (Breslau) could no longer be kept up, and I should then be placed under the necessity of allowing my subjects in Silesia to study in Prague, that is, in an Austrian university, where the principles of Government are quite different."

Thus, as teachers of youth, and only as such, did Frederick retain the Jesuits; not, however, as members of the Society of Jesus, which in his eyes had ceased to have any existence. On this account, even, the latter were compelled to lay aside their name of Jesuits, as well as their peculiar attire, and adopt secular costume, as well as the appellation of "Priests of the Royal School Institute." They were also strictly forbidden to engage in any other pursuits than that of the instruction of youth, and the "School Commission," which is the highest authority in all matters relating to education, was charged to take care that this interdict was not infringed. Frederick the Great also prohibited the sons of Loyola from receiving novices or founding novitiates, as he did not wish them to be further encouraged; and thus, from the very beginning, they were placed, as may be said, at the side of the grave. Under such altered circumstances, then, the Jesuits continued to remain in Silesia; but how different was this from their former state? It might, in truth, be called a mere nominal existence; and even this did not continue very long, as, in the year 1781, after the death of Frederick the Great, his successor, Frederick William II. abolished the "School Institute," and relegated its priests into private life, providing them with small pensions. In this manner was an end made also of the Order of Jesus in Silesia in reference to the Catholic provinces of Prussia, and it might be said, indeed, to be completely dissolved throughout the world, had it not been for one kingdom only, namely, Russia. It is true, indeed, that Peter the Great had, by an especial imperial law, already excluded the Jesuits from his dominions during all time, and this law was strictly acted up to until the year 1772; but, in the year named, by the partition of Poland, Russia had acquired an increase of territory, as, for instance, the provinces of Polocz, Vitebsk, Orsa, Dunaberg, Mochilow, and Mscislaw, in which the sons of Loyola possessed a number of colleges and other houses, and it became a question as to what was to be done with these. Most of the Empress Catherine II's advisers demanded that they should be expelled, and their goods confiscated; and to this the people also were agreeable. The Empress herself, however, with several of her confidants, among whom was, especially, the minister Count Gregor Czernyszew, was of opinion that if the law of Peter the Great were

applied to that country, it would inflict too great a blow upon the newly-acquired Polish subjects, who, as it was well known, adhered with strong predilection to the Jesuits; and, consequently, the Czarina resolved to preserve the Society of Jesus in Russian Poland as heretofore. As regards the remission of the Abolition Brief of 1778, the Empress, as head of the Greek Christian Church, declared that the Papal Decree had no effect in her country, and, on that account, the publication of the Bull *Dominus ac Redemptor noster* was strictly prohibited.

Thus had the Jesuits found, at least, a corner of the earth where neither their existence, their sphere of operation, nor their property, could be touched, and as this corner happened to be of some thousands of square miles in extent—it comprised within it a great part of Livonia, a part of Old Poland, and the whole of White Russia, that had continued so long under Polish rule—it may be imagined how extensively they here attempted to spread and establish themselves. The Bourbon Courts, nevertheless, who desired the extinction of Jesuitism from the world, entirely disapproved of all this, and on that account urged Pope Pius VI., the successor of Clement XV., to remonstrate with the Empress through his Nuncio in Warsaw. He did so, although with much reluctance, as he greatly favoured the Jesuits; he did it, however, when he saw that it would occasion no harm to his favourites, but, on the contrary, would greatly benefit them.

The Empress did not at all like that foreign potentates should interfere with the internal affairs of her Government, and, consequently, very curtly rejected his expostulations. Indeed, incited by contradiction, to which probably the influence of her favourite, Potemkin, whom the liberality of the sons of Loyola had contrived to gain over, also contributed, the Empress went still further, and gave the Jesuits permission, in a decree dated 25th July 1782, to elect a General Vicar, as their Society could not well be conducted without a supreme head, and, when once again allowed, he might be elected in Rome and entrusted with the full power of a General of the Society. The sons of Loyola, of course, made at once good use of this permission, and, in October, in their profess-house in Polocz, their unanimous choice fell upon Father Czerniewicz, he being the Superior of the said

profess-house, and having already quietly, as such, held the reins of government.

The Bull of Clement, *Dominus ac Redemptor noster*, of which mention has already been so much made, had, therefore, no effect whatever in causing the Society of Jesus to vanish out of the whole world; but the same flourished as much as ever in Russia, and General Vicar Czernievicz conducted himself precisely as if he had been the legitimate and lawful successor of the deceased Ricci. He founded novitiates, in one of which the young John Philip von Roothaan, born in Amsterdam in the year 1788, entered on the 18th June 1804; this man was destined hereafter to become General on the re-establishment of the Order. He also established colleges, nominated procurators, rectors, and assistants. He summoned also the professed brethren to hold Congregations, and proclaimed their resolutions to be unimpeachable; in short, he acted exactly as if the Pope had never abolished the Order of Jesus, or as if he himself had the right to propagate and carry out the operations of the Order in spite of the Bull of Abolition. This conduct, however, seemed uncommonly strange, and people, much astonished, began to ask themselves whether the fourth vow, that, namely, of implicit obedience to the Chair of Peter, had become no longer imperative for the Jesuits? People asked themselves whether the pious Fathers were at liberty, at their pleasure, to hold it one day and set it aside on the morrow, and, on closer observation, it must be confessed that they did actually take this liberty. As Father Czernievicz did, in Russia, so did also all members of the abolished Society of Jesus in general elsewhere, and almost every ex-Jesuit—there were, indeed, exceptions, of course, but very few—still continued to remain a Jesuit. He did not, it is true, do this openly before all the world, as he was wise enough to observe the laws of the country in which he lived, and did not attempt swimming against the stream. But in secret he still continued to hold communication with his brethren, and this he did in countries where the Order had been abolished, without bringing his fellow-members over the frontier; thus, in Austria, Bavaria, in the small German States, in Poland, and even in France, this was easy enough. Here, in these countries, the Jesuits might continue to live unopposed as long as they discontinued the attire of the Order and its ominous name; and for the most part they passed for

secular clergy, or as teachers and professors. The latter was especially the case in Germany, and it might be truly said that here they only changed their dress. It was more difficult for them, however, to penetrate again into countries from which they had been formally expelled, as, for example, into Portugal, Spain, and Naples; and also even in France they were not always fortunate enough to obtain any prominent position, as there a good look-out was maintained. In spite of this, however, they found, in course of time, what they wanted, when here and there they disguised themselves in secular clothing, under which garb no one could suspect them of being pious Fathers, but, on the contrary, men of the world, addicted to its pleasures.

What they particularly desired, moreover, was to obtain the place of adviser to some man of consequence, or to secure even the position of Court preacher, in which they not infrequently succeeded, an instance of this being the two ex-Jesuits Lenfant and Herbert, who succeeded each other as Father Confessor to Louis XVI. of France. Thus, in short, did the Jesuits progress as much as before, only in a different way, since, whereas formerly they carried on their calling openly, now they were obliged to work away in secret, under disguise. They also maintained among themselves firm connection, quite, indeed, according to the instructions given them by their General Ricci. At the time when the Jesuit Order was suppressed by force in France, Ricci secretly forwarded a letter addressed to the Superiors, in which, among other matters, it was stated as follows:—"When you are compelled by force to yield in laying aside the clothing which our holy Father Ignatius required to be worn, you can still inwardly, in your hearts, remain steadfastly united to his institution, and await a more propitious time when you can again adopt it openly, only take care to draw the bonds uniting you to one another more closely together, and recollect that no human power can release you from your vows."

According to this instruction on the part of their General, Ricci, did the ex-Jesuits proceed, and their Society thus continued to exist in all the countries in which they were formerly established, only the connection had to be maintained by means of secret correspondence, and, when this was impossible, by

journeys undertaken by the overseers among their retainers, which in some respects caused a degree of stagnation in the efficacy of the Order.

Was it, then, at all to be wondered at that gradually the sons of Loyola longed to commence again their work openly? Was it matter of surprise that there should be extreme joy among them, when the news came that they were permitted to elect a Vicar-General in Russia, who should concentrate in himself the full powers of a General? Again there was a central point around which they might collect: again had the Order a supreme head from whom it might derive its orders, a ruler who could assign to each member his sphere of operation. An enormous advance had thus been effected: with such a fortunate beginning, certainly, it could be no longer doubtful that the great end which the ex-Jesuits desired to attain from the commencement would eventually be reached—the aim and object, namely, of witnessing the Society of Jesus, murdered some fifteen years ago, again raised from the dead. The sons of Loyola then, at once, began again to develop extraordinary activity; and what good fortune was it that the Society had succeeded nine years previously in saving a great part of their money and capital, by having entrusted them to the keeping of faithful friends. Much might be effected in usefully employing this hoard; patrons and patronesses might be obtained by it, and adversaries might be silenced who would otherwise work much mischief. But the Jesuits did not conceal from themselves that, of course, money alone would not attain the object desired, as although many, not all, were open to its influence, and consequently, other levers must be put in motion of quite a different description. They accordingly set to work, and especially amongst the Cardinals who were favourably disposed towards the Order, to induce them to move Pope Pius VI., the successor of Clement XIV., to take some steps in favour of Jesuitism, and they requested him to approve, at least, of the proceedings in Russia, and to recognise the election of Father Czernicvitz as Vicar-General, were he not disposed to go at once so far as to officially abrogate the Bull, *Dominus ac Redemptor noster*.

As to the latter matter, Pius VI., although notoriously not unfavourably disposed towards the sons of Loyola, was under no

circumstances to be moved,\* and, indeed, simply for this reason, that he was fearful of embroiling himself with the Bourbon Courts who had suppressed the Jesuits; perhaps, also, in a small degree, because he had made a present to his nephews of the possessions which the Society of Jesus had in Rome and in the States of the Church, and they were, of course, unwilling to give them up again. But if Pius VI. showed himself to be unyielding, they were not on that account to be discouraged, as the man was in any case mortal, as all creatures are, and, besides, much had still to be prepared before the last stroke could be effected. Especially the ear and hearts of the reigning princes had to be gained lest they should turn out to be hostile when the next Pope should issue the Bull of Re-establishment, and, besides, it would be necessary to form a party among the public, and, above all, among men of letters, in order that during the fight, which must necessarily take place on the question of restitution, they might not be completely left without support.

It will be observed that the sons of Loyola did not proceed to gain their object by any means with levity and recklessness, but secured their position with the utmost circumspection, and built up their palace of re-establishment only after laying as its surest foundation a massive bulwark of stone. It would naturally carry me too far away should I proceed to enumerate all the individual stones which the Jesuits pushed forward in order to contribute to the construction of their palace, and even less would it be needful for me to make mention of all the different master-builders and their apprentices engaged in the work. I must rather content myself by indicating general outlines, and so affirm that the Jesuits derived their chief support from their opposition to the progressive enlightenment which was then taking place, and especially from the French revolution which had at that time broken out.

France had for centuries sighed under the frightful despotism of its Louis's, a despotism which could only have been rendered possible in that the Loyolites, and Fathers of their way of

\* The news spread abroad by the ex-Jesuits, in the year 1782, to the effect that the ex-Jesuit Benislawski, who had been sent to Rome by Catherine II. on business connected with the Church, had obtained from Pius VI. his approbation of the Society of Jesus in White Russia, is completely false, and the Pope himself disavowed this in an autograph Brief of the 11th April 1783.

thinking, kept the people in a state of the grossest intellectual slavery; but, at length, when the measure was full, reason aroused itself and broke its fetters. It did this in order to discharge an act of righteous punishment on those by whom it had hitherto been trampled under foot; and who will blame it if, in this act of punishment, it sometimes went too far, when it carried out, instead of an act of righteous vengeance, the blood-thirsty revenge of a destroying angel? Yet, as the destroying angel spread its wings, ah! how did the remaining princes of the world quake, especially those small despots in Germany and Italy, who were known for their bad administration, so similar to that of the Louis's in France! Did not all those, too, quake, who had rendered a helping hand to the despotism of the princes, who had supported them in all their evil deeds by advice and action! Had they not, indeed, been frequently goaded on by the latter thereto, and derived the chief advantage therefrom? They looked upon themselves as lost; the whole of them, dreaming or waking, believed they felt the sword of vengeance at their throats. But, lo and behold! a deliverer now appeared, and this was no other than the Order of Jesus, abolished some fifteen years ago. The Jesuits, undaunted and unabashed, advanced the proposition that all this mischief which had so disturbed the world had been caused by nothing so much as by enlightenment and unbelief. "Not owing to the shameful administration of the Kings of France, nor the despair which, through the despotism of the Louis's, had brought the French nation to the verge of destruction, was, according to their representation, the revolution brought about, but from Jansenism, from heresy, from the worship of reason; and even, therefore," continued they in their argument, "it was not a question of righteous complaints, which the people ventured to put forward, but rather the bold arrogance of depraved people, which required to be suppressed with all power."

In other words, the ex-Jesuits came forward with a mass of pamphlets and controversial writings, which they launched from Augsburg, where they held appointments as teachers, and busied themselves there, year after year, with a printing press of their own, in part negatively, as opponents of the French Revolution, in part positively, as respectful defenders of absolute monarchies; and would it not, then, of course, be found that such proceedings



were uncommonly pleasing to the ruling princes who had been so much blamed, especially to the German and Italian potentates? Of course, these pamphleteers did not omit to add pathetically, "We, the sons of Loyola, alone are in a position to save alike the throne as well as the civil community from the threatening ruin, precisely as we did the Church at the time of the Reformation, when we purged it from all aggravated heresy, as we have proved from the time of our foundation that no one could prevail against us in contention with the pen or in verbal discussion"; also, lastly, continued they modestly, "could any in power on the earth come to another conclusion than that, if our Order had not been suppressed, the intoxication of the French Revolution would never have been able to break out, and even on that account it would be for the interest of monarchs and princes that the Society should be again re-established as quickly as possible." \*

Thus wrote the ex-Jesuits Feller, Von Eckartshausen (Bavarian Hofrath), Sailer, D'Estaimbourg, Martin, Fabres, and the like, and that, with similar expressions, they made an impression upon a certain portion of the public, especially upon the rulers and their immediate followers, there can be no question whatever. The ex-Fathers, from their innate sagacity, did not also deceive themselves, thinking that everything could be effected solely by the writing of pamphlets, but they knew that personal communication would have a far more intense effect, and, on that account, spared no exertions to obtain an entrance among the higher circles, either in a secular or ecclesiastical capacity. They founded, indeed, with this object new religious communities, as, for example, "the Alliance of the Holy Heart," "the Society of the Fathers of the Faith," "the Vincentiens," and such like, and, under similar innocent kind of names, they not infrequently succeeded in gaining admission into places where, on account of the public opinion respecting Jesuits, they would in no case otherwise be allowed access. In whatever locality, however, they took up a

\* The titles alone of these Jesuitic pamphlets were of themselves sufficiently characteristic. Thus, for example, Eckartshausen wrote "Concerning the danger which threatens complete ruin to the Thrones, the States, and Christendom, through the false system of enlightenment of the day, and the bold arrogance of so-called Philosophers;" and the brochures issued from the pamphlet manufactory at Dillingen had precisely similar titles.

position, wherever they managed to insinuate themselves into the Court circle of some great one of the world, then did they contrive, after a short time, to gain a hearing for themselves through their Philippics against enlightenment and revolution amongst all those whose rule had, heretofore, been threatened by the same.

"Enlightenment," said they, "preaches nothing else than disturbances and insurrection, while the latter in turn proceeds to overturn Church and State. A cry is raised for the liberty of the press, and why so? In order to lower the majesty of the princes by means of unbridled language, and to undermine all the former order of things by anarchical principles. Freedom is spoken of, but what is this freedom but rebellion? The word reason is made use of, but when rightly viewed by the light of day it is unbelief, heresy, and the overthrow of all religion."

This was the tone in which the Jesuits spoke, and was it not natural enough that such sentiments should meet with approval in certain quarters? So natural, indeed, that one here and there forgot for what reason, some years before, the reigning Courts of Madrid, Lisbon, Paris, and Naples had dictatorially demanded the abolition of the Jesuit Order, and people began to hold up these zealous Fathers as the sole supporters of royalty! "Truly, indeed," was it whispered about confidently, "the Bourbon Courts, as they had previously compelled Pope Clement XIV. to issue the famous Bull, had committed a great blunder, and it is time to remedy this, and to replace the Jesuits as such."

The Society even contrived to bring over to this conviction the successor of Catherine on the throne of Russia (from 1798), the capricious Emperor Paul I., as extremely passionate in his dislikes as in his affections, and induced him, in the year 1800, to apply at once to the Roman Curie with an urgent petition to restore formally, by special Papal Bull, the Society of Jesus, which, as a matter of fact, had already been effected, in 1782, by an Imperial decree, although not legitimately sanctioned by the Pope. In Rome it was no longer Pius VI. who sat on the Papal throne, but—from 1800—Pius VII., who as Count Gregory Barnabas Chiaramonti had shown himself particularly favourable to the sons of Loyola. Consequently, after only short reflection, he at once acceded to the desire of the Emperor

Paul, and, on the 7th March 1801, issued the Brief *De Catholica Fidei*, by which the Society of Jesus was again re-established in Russia. For Russia only, be it well understood, however, but as formerly, with all the rights and privileges which the Society of Jesus had before possessed, especially as regards the privilege of the confessional and of preaching, as well as the instruction of youth and of educational chairs.

Father Gabriel Gruber, the rector, was now instantly elected by the joyful Loyolites as their General, and, as a number of the brethren at once established themselves there, coming from Germany, France, and Italy, the Order could then extend its operations, and spread over all that part of Russia which had formerly belonged to Poland. Thus colleges were established in Riga, Astrachan, Jaffa, Odessa, and St. Petersburg, a grand mission was constituted in the Government of Saratow, and there was no want of novitiates, and trial-houses for the training of young neophytes. In short, the Order of Jesus was newly revived, and with such zeal and strength as could hardly have been imagined. Moreover, of course, the Jesuits would not have been such had they been satisfied with being merely re-established in Russia alone. No, they only looked upon this as the beginning of a complete resurrection, and a means of working thence as a rendezvous for the whole of Europe. Inasmuch as they had made the Emperor Paul so firmly convinced that he would find in their Society a staunch bulwark against unbelief and renewed revolutionary attempts, they hoped to awaken the same belief in other monarchs also; and, lo and behold! they succeeded in a short time with one at least, namely in the case of the bigoted Ferdinand IV., the King of Naples and Sicily. This monarch, who was entirely in the hands of his spouse, Maria Carolina, a daughter of Maria Theresa of Austria, as well as in that of her ally, Cardinal Ruffo, in fact, addressed to the Pope, in the spring of the year 1804, a petition similar to that which the Emperor Paul had submitted three years before, and he did so marvellously in almost the same words.

"Christian piety and morals," wrote he to Pius VII., "are everywhere endangered and persecuted in these lamentable times, and therefore the return of the Jesuits to the kingdom of the two Sicilies may give the pledge of better days, and restore science as well as the fear of God to the youth and the schools."

What rejoicing was now caused in Rome when this petition was delivered to the Holy See! One might have thought that most extraordinary prosperity had come to Christianity, the importance of which could not be measured. But wherein did this good fortune consist? One learned only too soon, for the Court of Rome solemnised, on July 31st, the Festival of the Holy Ignatius in three churches at the same time, namely in the Jesuits' Church, in the Temple of Ignatius, and in the Church of the Quirinal, and in all of these with such extraordinary pomp that one could have no doubt about it that something of immense importance had occurred favourable to the sons of Loyola. In fact, something of moment had taken place; that is, the Bull, which now extended their restitution over the kingdom of the two Sicilies, had been already subscribed by the Pope on the 30th July 1804, despatched by a courier to Naples, and would there be solemnly proclaimed on the 2nd August with the sound of kettle-drum and trumpet. At the same time the Government restored to them the palaces and goods formerly confiscated as far as this could be done, and now they were soon to flourish as fresh and beautiful as ever in Neapolitan and Sicilian lands.

The Order had now won their game, and there could no longer be the least doubt that Pius VII. was fully resolved to re-establish it again over the whole of Christendom on the first suitable occasion. This, indeed, happened only after a period of fully ten years, namely at the time when, after the enthronement of the Emperor Napoleon, it was attempted to re-establish throughout the whole of Europe the same state of things as existed previous to the Revolution of 1789. In consequence of this attempt, which in some measure failed—as it has already been seen that the German Empire held aloof—the Pope obtained again the States of the Church, and he endeavoured to collect afresh his full powers and to regain once more his almost extinguished authority over Christendom, by speedily, on the 7th August 1814, causing universally the revival of the Order of Jesus with all its former privileges, just as before its abolition by Clement XIV. Thus runs the Bull relating thereto, which, from the words with which it commences, goes by the name *Sollicitudo omnium ecclesiarum*:—

“After the urgent and repeated petitions of the Cardinals,

Archbishops, Bishops, and men of distinction,\* further, in consideration of the salutary fruits which have been produced in Russia, Naples, and Sicily, and, lastly, out of respect to the almost unanimous wish of the whole of Christendom, the Society of Jesus shall, by virtue of our full apostolic power, be renewed in all the countries of the Christian Church, confirmed in its former organisation, rules, legal powers, liberties, offices of teaching, preaching, and confession, colleges, houses, provinces, subordinate to the immediate patronage, protection, and obedience of the Holy See, and freed and released from all the consequences of a resolution of abolition devised in the form of a Brief by Clement XIV. Whoever, therefore, dares to impede or hinder in any way this enactment, with regard to the vigorous steersman in the little ship of the Holy Peter, the anger of Almighty God, and that of his apostles Peter and Paul, shall entirely and infallibly annihilate him."

Thus Pope Pius VII. commanded, and this edict is remarkable in three respects. In the first place the Pope revokes the Bull of his "infallible" predecessor, Clement XIV., without further ado, and without advancing any grounds whatever for such a proceeding save the strength of his own infallibility, so that thus infallibility enters into contention with infallibility. Secondly, without even asking the Governments concerned whether they were agreeable to this re-establishment, and whether they approved of the same, he restored, with all its legal powers and in its pristine condition, the Jesuit Order which, at the earnest importunity of four or, indeed, five good Catholic Governments, had been for ever abolished because its statutes, organisation, and customs were perfectly inconsistent with the laws and government of any well-ordered state. Thirdly and lastly, he threatened, with excommunication and interdict, all States and monarchs who would not receive again the Order of Jesus, himself a Pope of the 19th century, precisely as if a Hildebrand or Gregory VII. of the 11th century had come to life again—just as if the clouds of spiritual darkness which obscured the Middle Ages had also again hung suspended over the period of

\* The Pope kept carefully to himself the names of these distinguished men, and it was in vain to search for them, and still less is known about the Cardinals and other Princes of the Church of whom Pius VII. here speaks; and had an inquiry been instituted, not a few of them, indeed, would have withheld their advice for the restitution of the Jesuits.

enlightenment which had been brought about through the French Revolution.

Thus did Pius VII. on the 7th August 1814, and the Society of Jesus, with its many adherents, rejoice loudly, as they believed that the stroke of the Papal pen had again insured for them a golden age.

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## CHAPTER III.

THE JESUITS IN THE FIRST HALF OF THE NINETEENTH  
CENTURY.

ONE would have imagined that the European Powers, and more especially the Bourbon Courts, would have resisted, as one man, the Bull of Re-establishment of 7th August 1814, as it must have been within their recollection what the circumstances were which had rendered the forcible expulsion of the Jesuits necessary forty or fifty years previously ; but, in fact, the very opposite occurred, and not a few of the reigning kings and princes hailed the regeneration of the Society of Jesus as a second Easter morning—as the day, in fact, when our Saviour rose again from the dead.

After the fall of Napoleon there came a period of the most fearful reaction all over Europe, and every sovereign vied one with another in the struggle to obliterate the last traces of the shocking Revolution of 1789, the last vestiges of the Empire which followed it, and of the commotions which it caused. Liberal ideas were feared like the spirit of evil, as through them the rights of the throne, of the nobility, and of the ecclesiastical world had become shaken ; they were dreaded, they were hated, it was wished to suppress them, and in such a manner that they might be, indeed, killed and buried for ever. Why, then, should not rejoicing be universal at the re-appearance of the blessed sons of Loyola, who proclaimed themselves to be the true pillars of civil and ecclesiastical obedience, who had proved

in Naples, Sicily, and Russia that they were a talisman against revolutionary fever, and that on their bold advance all politico-philosophical reforming plagues were broken to pieces and shattered, like the army of the Persians by the Spartan phalanx at the celebrated battle of Thermopylæ. "Yes, indeed," so thought not an inconsiderable part of the ruling lords, "there can be no better means of securing our own stability than that we should trust our defence to the sons of Loyola"; and seeing that courtiers, with the nobility, at once echoed the sentiments of the ruling powers, thus did they offer their most devoted homage to Jesuitism as the great stand-by and point of support for the kingdoms of the earth.

Certainly, some doubts must have arisen among the European Powers as to the accuracy of this view of the case, as only a very few years afterwards they were destined to witness the peculiar spectacle of the Emperor Alexander, who at the commencement of his government showed himself to be as much enamoured as his father Paul, banishing these Fathers from St. Petersburg and Moscow, on account of their dangerous intrigues, by a ukase of 20th December 1816; while somewhat later (13th March 1820) a further ukase of the Emperor expelled the Society of Jesus for ever out of the whole Russian monarchy, as well as out of Russian Poland, on account of their proselytising proceedings, no less than their avarice, disobedience, and gross infraction of the rights of hospitality.

"The solemn obligation of confession," thus it was stated, among other things, in this Imperial ukase, "was undertaken by them for the instruction of youth, in order that the understanding of the latter should be enlightened by science, and their heart by religion. They, however, abused the confidence which was placed in them, and misled their inexperienced pupils. Themselves enjoying a beneficial toleration, they implanted a hard intolerance in natures infatuated by them. They took pains to overturn the bulwark of States, afforded by an attachment on the part of the people to the faith of their fathers, and thus to undermine family happiness, while giving rise to an injurious difference of opinion. Thus all the efforts of the Jesuits were directed merely to secure advantages for themselves, and the extension of their power, and their conscience found in every refractory action a convenient justification in their statutes."



The sons of Loyola were thus described in the well-considered ukase of the Emperor Alexander, and, assuredly, no more truthful or dispassionate account could be given of them. And this view respecting the true nature of Jesuitism remained henceforth fixed in Russia, and the sons of Loyola never succeeded in effecting a revocation, or even mitigation, of the decree mentioned, as the Cabinet of St. Petersburg had good statesmen, who took a clear insight into everything, and never allowed themselves to be turned aside, either by the art of flattery or dissimulation, from maturely-considered calm resolutions. The behaviour of the Russian Government was so uncommonly open and clear in motive, that, on that account, it gained over the whole civilised world to its side; yet the European Governments had given themselves over heart and soul already to the sons of Loyola, and they had committed themselves to such an extent that they merely examined the ukase of 18th March 1820 when it appeared. Above all, Italy paid its homage to the re-established Order, and, as may be understood, Pius VII., the great restoring Pope, who had to precede the whole world with a good example, at once re-consigned to their charge the palaces and property formerly held by them in Rome under Clement XIV., as much, that is, as had not yet got into private hands. Thus, for instance, the magnificent profess-house, "Al Jesu," the cradle of the whole Order, which, through the piety of the Apostolic See, had as much as possible been preserved in its former condition; then the "Collegium Romanum," and, somewhat later, the "Collegium Germanicum," together with the different churches and former possessions, not to omit, also, a magnificent building as a novitiate.

In consequence of this, and because, also, the following Popes, Leo XII. (1823-29), Pius VIII. (1829-30), Gregory XVI. (1830-46), and the still reigning Pope Pius IX.\*, most

\* Pius IX., immediately on his accession to the throne, commenced, as is known, with a strong Liberal tendency; but the sons of Loyola soon contrived to cure him thoroughly of this madness; and since that time, as Cardinal d'Andrea has publicly for some time expressly testified, the Holy Father finds himself completely in the hands of the said Fathers. Pius IX. commenced, in the year 1851, to make visits to their profess-house, as well as to their colleges, and had frequently even made use of the expression that, in these modern bad times, they were the only supporters of the true faith. It is also notorious that from 1851 no important action of government was determined on before the Pope had taken counsel with his dear Father Beckx, the present General of the Order, and during the

highly favoured the sons of Loyola, their numbers increased, as well in Rome as in all the States of the Church, to quite an extraordinary extent, so much so, indeed, that even in the year 1829 it was necessary, as far as concerned Rome, to assign them a place outside the walls as a lodging. At the present day, however, their condition is, indeed, more flourishing than ever, and their present General\* may well boast with pride that none of his predecessors exercised such a powerful influence over the supreme head of Christendom as himself. Besides, not alone in Rome and the States of the Church did the Society of Jesus, after its re-establishment, take such a towering flight, but also in the other Italian provinces, as, for instance, in Genoa, Modena, Parma, Ferrara, and Verona, where they were petitioned to found novitiates and educational establishments of great extent.

Still more brilliantly did they flourish in Naples, as there their great protector, King Ferdinand, conferred on them the exclusive right of conducting the education of the youth of the nobility, in order, perchance, that they might not become acquainted with the frightful ideas of modern times; and the good sons of Loyola at once founded a Lyceum for the nobility, which naturally, as it was a kind of common mill, obtained an extraordinary number of customers. Besides this, they possessed four other such Lyceums in Neapolitan territory, and in the island of Sicily as many as fifteen colleges, corresponding exactly to the number of their seminaries, novitiates, and profess-houses. In short, in the whole of Italy, with the exception of Sardinia and Piedmont, where, although they were tolerated, it is true, yet they were not formally installed, they already acted the same part after a few years as they had played previous to their suppression, and at times one was almost tempted to believe that the period of their following years their influence attained the unfortunate height regarding which we have to speak in the next chapter.

\* As regards the later Generals of the Jesuits, there followed, after Father Gabriel Gruber, of whom I have already spoken, in the year 1814, a Pole, Father Thadæus Bryozowsky; after him, in the year 1820, an Italian, Father Ludwig Fortis; then, in the year 1829, Father John Philip van Roothaan, a native of Amsterdam, a second Claudius Aquaviva as to intellect and activity; and finally, in the year 1853, the present General, John Peter Beckz, a Belgian, who is now 78 years of age [this was written in 1873]. He saw light on the 8th February 1795, in a village near Mechlin, joined the Society of Jesus on the 29th October 1819, became at once Father Confessor of the newly-created ducal pair of Köthen; after this, he obtained the position of Rector of the College at Louvaine, was then promoted to be Provincial of Austria, and in the autumn of 1853 was selected as General of the Order.

history between 1773 and 1814 had passed over them without leaving a trace.

The sons of Loyola experienced even greater favour in Spain than in Italy, as a ruler like Ferdinand VII., a perjured tyrant, with few equals, must necessarily have been a devout friend of the Jesuits. Soon after the fall of Napoleon, when Ferdinand was brought back victorious to Madrid, in the year 1814, he issued an edict which not only restored the Order of Monks in general, together with the Inquisition and torture, but especially proclaimed throughout the land that the Society of Jesus had been restored by the Pope ; and after this edict another followed, on the 29th May 1815, by which that Society was again placed in possession of all their rights and property of which they had been deprived since 1767. This was more than had been done for the sons of Loyola anywhere else in the world, but in return for this King Ferdinand and his Camarilla expected great things ; nothing less than that they should destroy, root and branch, the Liberal ideas imported from France, that they should call halt to the spirit of the times, and make out of Spain the most absolutely governed kingdom on the face of the earth. In fact the Jesuits promised to fulfil completely these expectations, and there passed over the fair land a period of night which could not be darker ; but the much-tormented subjects became weary of the continual punishments, imprisonments, banishments, and executions, and a general rising took place in the year 1820, the consequence of which was that a Liberal Constitution had to be inaugurated. It was now all at an end with the Jesuit administration, and the sons of Loyola had to evacuate the kingdom entirely.

But, lo and behold ! the Liberal Constitution which Spain gave to itself did not at all afford satisfaction to the remaining European Powers, who perceived therein imperilment of the absolute principles in their own monarchies, and, consequently, France sent an army across the Pyrenees, in order to re-establish the old order of things. It succeeded, and, with the old order the Jesuits also returned, who nestled themselves in the country more firmly than ever.

After the lapse of ten years, that is, on the 29th September 1833, Ferdinand VII. died, and in regard to the succession to the throne a civil war arose, which tore the poor country to pieces for

fully seven years. One of the candidates to the throne was Don Carlos, the brother of the deceased King Ferdinand ; the other was called Donna Isabella, the daughter of Ferdinand VII., who, from affection to the latter, had abrogated the so-called Salic law of the House of Bourbon, which excluded daughters from succession to the throne as long as there were any male princes alive. And now, because with Don Carlos the whole of the priestly absolute party united, Donna Isabella, or rather her mother, the Queen Dowager Maria Christina, saw herself compelled to open the army to Liberalism, and, consequently, in the year 1835, Spain was favoured with a Liberal Constitution which shut the door again, for the third time, to the Jesuits. Thus their fate changed about, and, in the year 1840, when the Carlists had been completely defeated, it seemed that the sons of Loyola had lost entirely and for ever all ground in Spain. Their activity did not, on that account, entirely cease, especially as they still retained their educational houses ; not under their own name, however, but at one time under one strange appellation, and at another under something else.

In former times, the Society of Jesus had found an exceedingly fruitful pasturage in Germany, Austria, and Bavaria, and there, as we have already seen, their abolition was very unwillingly consented to, so it was naturally to be expected that their re-establishment would be greeted in those countries with rejoicing. But this was not altogether the case, as since the death of Maria Theresa a change had taken place, and the spirit of modern times had seized, here and there, even on regions where such was not to have been anticipated. Thus a remarkable case, among others, happened in the year 1793, when the Treve Minister, Duminique, in the name of his lord and ruler, sent to the Archduke Maximilian Francis, the youngest son of Maria Theresa, who was in possession of the Electorate of Cologne and the Bishopric of Münster, as well as to other German Bishops and Prelates, asking them to intercede on behalf of the re-establishment of the Jesuit Order, the same being the most effectual bulwark against the revolutionary spirit which was steadily making increasing progress in Germany, as well as against irreligion, which was for ever raising its head still higher ; it happened, however, that the said Archduke Maximilian Francis not only at once declined to co-operate, but grounded

his motives for this refusal on what must have tasted to the sons of Loyola more bitter than wormwood and gall.

"They" (that is, the sons of Loyola), it is stated in the document dated 29th November 1793, "have so constantly mixed themselves up in Court and State intrigues, that they must, in justice, be reproached with striving after universal dominion. They cost Kings their lives, not on the scaffold, but by assassination; and, equally hurtful as the Society of Illuminati, they were the foremost among the crowd, at all events, who applauded the murder scenes in Paris. They robbed the States of their most capable youths whom they enticed into their institutions, and procured for themselves, by their monopoly in the direction of study, in Catholic countries, an excessive and immoderate influence over all opinions. They held in their hands all the springs for working upon mankind; money, protection, confessionals, and other means were plentifully at their command. They might thus work for good if they wished to do so, but they laboured at the beck and call of their superiors alone, for their own peculiar advantage and aggrandizement, without any regard whatever for the well-being of mankind; and it is impossible, therefore, to indulge in a conviction that the re-establishment of the Society of Jesus can be productive of any benefit whatever."

Thus wrote the Grand-Duke Maximilian, and great numbers of persons of high position were of a similar way of thinking, as well among the clergy as among the laity, and unquestionably also the educated of the middle classes. The Austrian Government declined, therefore, without further consideration, to announce in their countries the Bull *Sollicitudo omnium ecclesiarum*, as demanded by the Pope, as, in those days (the years 1814 and 1815), tolerably good reasons were needed for not opposing the wishes of their subjects; and as the ruler of Bavaria, King Maximilian Joseph, was guided by precisely the same reasons, he also interdicted the legal reception of the Society of Jesus, although personally, no less than the Emperor Francis I. of Austria, he was not at all unfriendly disposed to the sons of Loyola. The two Governments, on the other hand, had nothing to urge against an expedient to admit the Redemptionists, instead of the Jesuits, not aware, perchance, that both—Jesuit and Redemptionist—meant, so to speak, precisely the

same thing; ignorant, forsooth, that the Redemptionists or Liguorians, as they were also named, after their founder, everywhere paved the way when the Jesuits were not tolerated "as such," and took their places until the latter were able to make their entrance with open vizer as sons of Loyola.\* The Redemptionists were thus admitted into Austria, and in Vienna, in the year 1820, managed to get the Upper Passaverhof with the Church of Maria Stiegen allotted to them. Thence they spread themselves all over the provinces of the Imperial States, and even far beyond these, into Bavaria, where they founded their first settlement in the shape of the celebrated pilgrimage of Altötting. After they had made suitable progress and obtained a firm footing, they considered it better to throw off the mask, and revealed their educational institutions in Lemberg, Innspruck, and other towns, in their true colours, that is, as Jesuit colleges. The Government paid no heed to this; to speak more plainly, they tolerated the public appearance of the sons of Loyola, and the latter consequently took always more and more liberties. They also spread themselves over Rheinisch Prussia, and founded, for instance, in Coblentz, a well-attended college, without the Government forbidding their proceedings. In short, the Society of Jesus was now in the best train for conquering, one by one, each of the positions they had lost since 1778. Then

\* Alfonso Maria de Liguori, a very zealous member of the Propaganda of the Faith in Naples, founded at Villa Scala, in the year 1732, with the approbation of Pope Clement XII., a brotherhood in the hermitage of St. Maria, the members of which devoted themselves to the instruction of the young, the propagation of the true Catholic faith, and especially the service of the Pope, in whom they revered the embodied will of God. Their aim was thus the same as that of the Jesuits, and even their name indicated this, as they called themselves "Brethren of the Holy Redeemer" (*Santo Redentore*). They lived, not as united secular ecclesiastics, but in cloister-like communion, and therein consisted properly the sole difference between themselves and the Jesuits. They were regarded from the commencement as merely an offshoot of the Order of Jesus, or, it might rather be said, as younger brothers, who belonged to the family, indeed, and were obliged to do everything that might be required of them, without having any rights themselves, and without any prospect of receiving a share of the inheritance. Under such circumstances the new Order remained for a long time without any importance whatever, and found but very few adherents, even at the time that the Jesuit Order had been already suppressed. As, however, Pope Pius re-established the latter, and several States hesitated to introduce it, it occurred to the sons of Loyola whether they might not be able to carry out their plans of operation under the mask of the hitherto little-esteemed younger brothers, and this circumstance seemed to them so suitable that they at once brought it into operation. The Liguorians or Redemptionists also agreed to the plan with joy, as they gained thereby uncommonly in importance.

came the fatal year 1848, and this quickly put an end to their presence. Not, however, for long, as we must all have well in remembrance that, in the year 1849, a peculiar change or revolution took place, which usually follows upon times of great excitement, and, in place of the Liberal Ministers of March, in consequence of the relaxation and lassitude of the people, men of reaction and retreat came into possession of the helm. That was water to the mills of the sons of Loyola! They were now again enabled to put themselves forward before the people, and came to be regarded as the foremost combatants in the revolution. Now were they again enabled to exclaim to the Princes, "We alone are the chief pillars of the monarchy," and, if you will only permit us, you need not trouble your heads more about the suppression of the revolution." And what was the result of these frightful years of reaction? No other than that the Order of Jesus was again publicly recognised in Austria, permission being accorded to it to found educational institutions throughout the whole of the Imperial States, and, as may well be imagined, the most unlimited use was made of this permission.\* Over the remainder of Catholic Germany, nevertheless, the sons of Loyola were not able even then to carry into effect their strictly official recognition, and they were obliged to work indirectly under the appellation of Redemptionists. But was their efficiency on that account any the less? One need only to bear in mind that the German College (*Collegium Germanicum*) in Rome was entirely supplied and recruited from Bavaria, Prussia, Baden, and the Rhine Provinces; and all these recruits, after completing their studies, were sent back again to Germany. But whither did those excellently-schooled pupils of the Jesuit Order wander? Why, one part to the universities, and another to seats of the different bishops. At the latter they obtained, through Romish recommendations, the most influential appointments, and their efficacy immediately became immense, as they governed all the seminaries and scholastic institutions

\* The Order had to thank, for its unrestrained admission into all the provinces of the Austrian States, principally the female portion of the Imperial family, notably the Arch-Duchess Sophia, who for a long time had exercised an extraordinary influence on the Government. It founded, however, its first and most remarkable settlements in Galicia, among the Poles, and thence there arose the seminaries and colleges at Linz, Leitmeritz, Innsprück, Tarnopol, Thyrnau, Vienna, Agram, Feldkirch, Brescia, Verona, and many other places.

which were amenable to the bishop. At the universities, however, they entered as professors, and in their lectures taught the future spiritual guides a theology which was, of course, fashioned on pure ultramontane principles. Thus, in short, when they were unable to advance with an entirely open visor as Jesuits, their operations were still of such a nature as furthered the ends of the Order of Jesus; and, after long years of activity they brought the matter so far, that in time almost the whole clergy of Germany being brought up by them, swore allegiance to their flag. In much the same way as in Bavaria and in the Rhine Provinces was the fate of the Society of Jesus, after its re-establishment, determined in France, although the Order had the firmest conviction that Louis XVIII., the restorer of the Bourbon dynasty after the fall of Napoleon, could do nothing more beneficial than retract the Edict of Louis XV. issued in November 1764. This Monarch had, however, sufficient sagacity to perceive that, were he to take such a step, he would be going quite contrary to public opinion. Consequently, the sons of Loyola remained shut out of France, at least in name, and even the exertions of "Monsieur," brother of the King, who afterwards ascended the throne as Charles X., had not the effect of making Louis XVIII. more compliant. Certainly, these continued refusals cost him much anxiety, especially since the Pavillon Marsan in Paris, where the ultra-Royalists in combination with the ex-Jesuits had taken up their quarters, had the audacity to proclaim him publicly as a pupil of the infamous Voltaire; but his Minister brought daily to his recollection that the re-establishment of an Order so greatly hated by the great majority of the French people would doubtless have the effect of creating the same disturbances as those which had already overturned the throne of the Lilies once before; and as the crafty Monarch had the wish, at any price, to be buried in the royal vault at St. Denis, one can well imagine that he remained inflexible on this point to the end of his Government in the year 1824. He was not, however, completely inimical to the sons of Loyola, and gave them consequently the same kind of existence which they had obtained for themselves at first in Austria after the year 1814, that is, he allowed them to begin again their old accustomed sphere of operations under another name, and in a different, although very similar, costume. They, therefore, called



themselves, as regards France, "Pères de la Foi," that is, "Fathers of the True Faith"; and, lo and behold! in a few years they again attained to great power and riches. This certainly did not take place without contentions and adversities of all kinds, as the re-establishment of the black cohort met with much resistance from the Chamber of Deputies, which protested against them with all the legal means in its power; but to all these complaints, protestations, and monitions, the Ministers of Louis XVIII. replied, in an evasive manner, "There are no Jesuits in France"; and the Monarch also used the same dubious language. It, however, troubled the Jesuits greatly that they were unable to come forward openly and boldly as that which they professed to be; and, besides, their efficacy was in this way also much impaired, as their connection with the rest of the Jesuits, and especially with their General in Rome, had to be kept secret, and denied before the world. On this account they did not fail—after the accession of Charles X., their great patron and friend, to the throne—to lift the visor somewhat, or rather, indeed, to an extent that no one could have any further doubt about the matter as to who were attired in the garments of the Fathers of the Faith; more especially they presented themselves quite unabashed at the episcopal sees, for the most part as head teachers of the seminaries where the rising clergy were brought up; as also as overseers of the education of the young in general. Indeed, they organised their many colleges and seminaries (as, for instance, the Mission-house of the Order in Paris, and the Colleges of St. Acheul, Montrouge, and elsewhere) in an intimate union, the head of which they declared to be the Jesuit General in Rome, and their Principal, or Præpositus, did not hesitate openly and boldly to subscribe his name, on the admittance of pupils to the novitiate, as "Provincial of the Society of Jesus in the Province of Gaul."

This took place in the year 1826, and on being questioned in the Chamber of Deputies, the Ministers were obliged to admit that the Society of Jesus did actually exist on French soil, and that their presence was with the permission of the Government. Thereupon there arose among the majority of well-informed people a storm of disapproval; and the highest tribunal of the kingdom at once seized this opportunity to declare that, according to the

established laws of France, neither under one name nor another was the Society of Jesus allowed to have any existence, and also that their contemplated re-establishment was entirely contrary to the constitutional charter sworn to by the King and his Ministers. The result of this was that in the year 1828 the Jesuit colleges and schools at St. Acheul, near Amiens, at St. Anne, in Bretagne, at Dole, in Jura, at Montmorillon, in the department of Vienne, at Bordeaux, at Aix, at Fortcalquier, at Montrouge, and at Billon, which were attended by more than 3,500 pupils, were obliged to be suppressed, and the Government, who espoused the cause of the Jesuits with all their power, only succeeded in saving, with much difficulty, the seminaries of the Pères de la Foi, together with those of Montrouge, St. Acheul before the gates of Paris, and some dozen others. The sons of Loyola now, however, urged their obsequious pupil King Charles X. to withhold his approval to these violent measures on the part of the judicature and of the deputies, to annul the charter of the Constitution, in order that the old absolute monarchy, with the supremacy of the Order of Jesus, as under Louis XIV., might be re-established; and the weak Monarch actually allowed himself to venture upon such a foolish undertaking.

In August 1829 Prince Polignac, the strict ally of the Jesuits, stood at the head of the Government, and consequently a period of reaction began, more vile, oppressive, and blood-thirsty than can be well imagined. Thereupon the sons of Loyola were highly jubilant, and presumed that now the game was theirs. But on the 27th and 28th of July 1830 the population of Paris rose, and this revolution occasioned the Bourbon Government to fall to pieces like a house built of cards. Charles X. was, like a culprit, compelled to take flight to England; and from the day of his departure there was an end of the Society of Jesus, as the Provisional Government of the July Revolution banished them for ever from French soil.

For a long time nothing more was heard of the sons of Loyola, and one might have been tempted to believe that they had retired from the field for ever. In truth, however, it had not yet come so far as this, but they continued to keep watch on the immediate frontiers of France, for instance, at Freiburg in Switzerland, in order that when the time arrived they might be

quickly on the spot again to reconquer the lost ground. And this period did arrive on the fall of Louis Philippe and the accession to the throne of Napoleon III., as the latter required to make use of the priesthood in order to secure his newly-baked, or, perhaps it may be said, his newly-warmed Imperial throne, and with the growing power of the Catholic priesthood the influence of the sons of Loyola equally held its ground.

None the less it was not a question this time of a formal and public reintroduction of the Society of Jesus, and all that its members could desire was toleration; but this was of such a plain nature that the Loyolites soon found it no longer necessary to make their appearance under a strange name or such other pretext, but their colleges and seminaries opened again with the visor fully removed. They thus spread themselves afresh over the whole of France, and in a period of ten years there was no longer any department in which they had not the chief control of all education, at any rate, so far as founding educational houses. Nor were they during all this time attacked by anyone, because without doubt no one dared to run counter to the absolute will of the Emperor Napoleon, and thus the ancient proverb well applied to them, "Where there is no complainant there is no judge." Yet, no, I must not keep silence respecting a movement which took place against them towards the end of the year 1856, when a petition was numerously signed by the first notables of the land, and especially by the professors of the University, requesting that in reference to the Jesuits, resort should again be had to legal regulations. This was translated into German, and was nothing else than a demand that the Government should no longer tolerate the legally proscribed Order of Jesuits, but at once suppress and prohibit it. And for what reason did the petitioners demand this? Their language was sufficiently distinct, as they expressed themselves, amongst other things, in the following words:—"The Jesuits prosecute the spoliation of heritages, regarding the result with little compassion for families, so that we have in France at the present time the spectacle of a Society which is hurtful to the State as well as to individuals, which is inimical to our institutions, and at the same time dangerous from its teaching—a Society which, condemned by our laws, extends itself and increases in numbers under the toleration of the administration "

But what was the result of this petition? The Government gaily replied that they knew how to take account of the laws concerning legacy-hunting, and consequently the whole affair was buried in oblivion. In other words, the Jesuits were allowed, as before, the most ample sport, and consequently their riches and influence increased year by year.

The Court of Portugal conducted itself in altogether a different manner from the other Catholic Courts mentioned, respecting the Bull *Sollicitudo omnium ecclesiarum*, as it did not hesitate to allow the same to be read aloud in Portugal and Brazil, and, indeed, proclaimed to all the other European Cabinets a formal protest against the Society. The ruler, John VI., declared: "The order of the 3rd September 1759, which exiled the Jesuits from the country, had his approval, and this could not be otherwise than for ever, else the same evil days for himself and his family, as also for his subjects, would again come to pass, which had once before brought the kingdom to the brink of destruction."

The Pope used his utmost endeavour to induce the Monarch to take a different view, and with this object a special Nuncio was despatched to Lisbon and Rio de Janeiro; but the influence of England, and especially that of Marshal Beresford, was too powerful to admit of this step being productive of result, and thus the sons of Loyola remained excluded from the kingdom during the whole period of the government of John VI., that is, up to 1825. They found no greater favour with his granddaughter and successor, Donna Maria da Gloria, the daughter of the Emperor Don Pedro of Brazil; and when even her uncle, the frantic Don Miguel, having succeeded for a short time in depriving her of the throne, through a decree of 30th August, 1832, re-established the Society of Jesus, although without any claim on their former possessions, privileges, and immunities, this restoration did not last longer than eleven months; for in July 1833, the usurpation of Don Miguel was overthrown, and the Jesuits had again to vanish speedily out of Portugal, or they would have been in danger, precisely as in the time of Pombal, of being shipped off to Italy. Since that period Portugal has been classed among Constitutional States, and in consequence, there has never again been any question of a fresh introduction of the Society of Jesus. They continued and will

continue to be banished out of that country, as it appears, for the future, as the present Government never tolerates the settlement of any whom they have reason to suspect of concealing Jesuitism under their mask.

The little kingdom of Belgium formed a complete contrast to that of Portugal, as there Jesuitism flourished with the full sanction of the Government, in a fashion and to such an extent as was never exceeded elsewhere in the world, not even including the glorious States of the Church. According to the Belgian Constitution, the education of the people, no less than the form of religious worship, is completely free, the State having divested itself of all right to mix itself up with any religious or ecclesiastical matters, so that thus all Orders have a completely open field. Of this unlimited freedom the sons of Loyola made use so zealously, however, that the remaining Orders, all put together, do not attain to a fourth part of what they themselves can boast. The best proof of this is, that so far back as the 4th November 1834 they were in a position to open their own university in the town of Mechlin; and as, of course, no other professor is authorised to teach but those alone who have been scholars of their Order, it can easily be imagined with what spirit the academical youths of that city must have been animated. From these latter, and I beg this may be well considered, sprang a great number of men who afterwards came in riper years to work as servants of the State, and even therein lies the ground of the Jesuits having so many friends among the great people of the land. Matters did not, however, end with the University of Mechlin, but the Jesuits founded colleges also in Alost, Antwerp (where they also established a commercial school, in order to get the sons of merchants also into their power), Bruges, Brussels, Courtnay, Ghent, Liege, Louvaine, Mons, Namur, Tournay, Verviers, and elsewhere, by which they appropriated to themselves, for the most part, the instruction of the youth of the land. In spite of all this, however, they could not prevent the friends of enlightenment among the Catholics making use of political and religious liberty with the view of founding in Brussels a free university by which that of Mechlin might be counteracted, and just the same happened in the case of the remaining educational institutions of the country. Thus in Belgium the remarkable spectacle might be seen that

the Society of Jesus, having full liberty from the Government to extend themselves and develop their power, was still met with voluntary opposition by the more enlightened part of the inhabitants, while here and there national feeling was sufficiently strong to keep pace at least with the sons of Loyola, and in part to make them retire within the limits of moderation.

As now in Belgium, so also in the Catholic cantons of Switzerland, Jesuitism prevailed, and at the beginning of the year 1818, only three years after the re-establishment of the Order by the Pope, a splendid Jesuit College arose in Freiburg. But what am I saying? for the Order never, indeed, ceased to exist in Switzerland, even after the abolition decree of Clement XIV., as may be learned from the Jesuit writer J. Esseiva himself! Thus we read in his writings regarding the revenues of the Jesuit College of St. Michael in Freiburg:—

“At that period, that is, in the year 1773, the Jesuits remained in spite of the abolition of their Order; they had, indeed, become secularised, but had lost nothing except the name, being in possession of all their pulpits and of all their educational establishments. They continued still to form a corporation of learning; they obtained, by their genius, well-filled classes; they endeavoured to propagate the work of the Society with zeal.”

A precisely similar report is made by the ultra-Catholic Fr. J. Buss, who writes as follows:—

“The Jesuits, on November 2nd, 1773, laid aside the costume of their Order, but they contrived to live on according to their constitutions much as before, and did not discontinue giving public instruction. As the old Fathers died off they acquired for themselves several young men endowed with zeal, and founded a College at Sion, in the canton of the Vallais, where the Government allowed them to carry on their proceedings with freedom.”

As the sons of Loyola, although certainly under other names, such as “Fathers of the Faith” (*Perès de la Foi*), worked on in Freiburg, and in the canton of the Vallais, quite undisturbed, it could not be wondered at that Father Joseph Sineo de la Tour, when he arrived in Switzerland in 1814 with a commission from the General of the Jesuits to found Jesuit colleges, was received with open arms in the cantons mentioned. The excellent instructor of youth, Professor Girard (a Franciscan), was certainly entirely opposed to the official re-establishment of the

Jesuits in Freiburg, and he was supported by a large part of the inhabitants; but the Bishop, the higher clergy, the patricians, with the Government stadtholder, Müller, at their head, had long been won over to the Order, and insisted on having their own way. Thus, in short, the Jesuits were called to Freiburg in the spring of the year 1818, and at once, on the 21st November of the same year, opened their beautiful College with 200 pupils. The sons of Loyola now possessed a firm nursery in Switzerland, and from this they spread themselves out in all directions. Almost everywhere they contrived to procure an entrance for their fellow-believers, and the result of this influence was the founding of further colleges in Staffis, Sion, Brieg, Schwytz, and Lucerne, as well as of different smaller educational institutions at some other places.

The sons of Loyola had now won their game, especially as they further succeeded in talking over the bigoted nobility of the neighbouring Bavaria, as, in part, also of France, to entrust the education of their sons to the Society, of course at the expense of domestic habits, and educational institutions, and their consideration in this respect rose so high that they obtained the upper hand in the Catholic cantonal governments, especially in Schwytz, Freiburg, Valais, and Lucerne, reformed all the laws according to their pleasure, and filled up all offices with their adherents. Thus affairs went on during several decades, and doubtless would have so continued still longer if it had not been from their unlimited love of power, whereby they trod under foot all other right-thinking people, whereby they eventually called down upon their heads the most frightful animosity throughout the rest of Switzerland. The Tagsatzung,\* that is, the supreme Government of the United Cantons, by a large majority demanded their removal. The answer, however, of the Jesuits was that, on the 11th December 1845, they persuaded the Catholic cantons, viz. Schwytz, Lucerne, Unterwalden, Freiburg, Zug, and Valais to form a union which, in complete opposition to the spirit of the Swiss Confederation, as well as the Act of Confederacy itself, should offer opposition to "all unsuitable orders of the Tagsatzung," and, when necessary, even

\* The Canton of Zurich had already demanded the expulsion of the Jesuits in the year 1845; but in the next year, on the 20th July 1846, this proposal obtained the necessary number of votes to make it effective.

to take up arms. The sons of Loyola thought by such determined mode of proceeding to intimidate the Tagsatzung, which had distinguished itself as yet by no great energy, or at least to impress them; but this time they completely miscalculated. When the seven confederated cantons, after repeated demands, did not seem inclined to render obedience to their union, or to dismiss the sons of Loyola, but treated with scorn the commission of Tagsatzung sent to them at the beginning of 1847, the latter resolved upon taming the refractory offenders by force, and at once called under arms 100,000 men, whom they placed under the supreme command of the brave General Dufour. Nothing was then left for the seven Jesuitically-disposed cantons than either humbly to sue for peace, or manfully to defend themselves. As a matter of fact, they brought together an army of 36,000 men, and supported these by 47,000 yeomanry; but there was no enthusiasm among the troops, and as Dufour advanced into the canton of Freiburg they all fled before him in fear of death. The same thing took place when the bulk of the Tagsatzung's army moved against Lucerne, and during the whole of the war the Union troops only once resisted manfully. This was on the 23rd November 1847, near Gislicon, on the borders of Zug, near Lucerne. But on this occasion they ultimately fled, after a short resistance; and thus ended the campaign, at the beginning of which the Unionists had boasted so arrogantly as to the ignominious defeat of their opponents.

Of course, the sons of Loyola at once perceived that it was no longer possible to remain in the country, they therefore made their escape into the neighbouring Tyrol and Austria, where they sought protection. They fled, indeed, so rapidly that they even left behind them what was dearest to their hearts, namely, their property and wealth, as they feared being made responsible for all the mischief of the Union war, they alone having instigated it. They prized life with liberty more highly than all other earthly possessions. Besides, they did not long remain alone in their flight, as those at once followed them who had placed themselves with the Society at the head of the plot, among whom, besides the laity who were Jesuitically disposed, were also the Redemptionists, the Marianists, the school brethren, and the school sisters, with the Dames de la Sacré Cœur. Thus the Swiss atmosphere was cleared



at once from the whole of the pestilential Jesuit exhalations.

In order, however, that the same scenes of religious excitement which, as we have seen, resulted in this civil war, should not possibly be repeated, the Tagsatzung banished the Society of Jesus for all time out of the whole of Switzerland, Catholic as well as Protestant; and this law was also forthwith adopted, in the year 1848, by the newly-founded Union Constitution, and has remained, up to the present time, in full operation as the law of the land, although frequent attempts at evasion have been made in the centre of Catholic Switzerland, and with partial success, but not to any great extent. If the sons of Loyola, then, had lost in Switzerland a rich pasture, which they afterwards in vain sought to regain for themselves, they nevertheless contrived to indemnify themselves through other far-distant acquisitions, where, from their first abolition by Clement XIV., they had been perseveringly unable to find an entrance. Thus the Government of Great Britain, after Parliament had carried through the Catholic Emancipation, could not but allow also the admission of the Society of Jesus into the country; and the latter made use of this so far that it founded splendid educational institutions at Stonyhurst, near Preston, in the county of Lancashire, as well as at Hodderhouse, in the neighbourhood of London. The Order was not the less zealous in prosecuting its extension in Ireland, and in modern times a number of small schools have sprung up there, all of which are conducted by Loyolites. These latter, however, have not hitherto made any very prominent progress, as, whence could the poor Irish obtain the money in order to give such support to the Jesuit Fathers as they had hoped, expected, and demanded? The Society of Jesus, however, met with a very different destiny in America—in the same land where, especially in Paraguay, things had worked so fatally for their existence; and they created here for themselves a sphere of operation of which they had previously never even allowed themselves to dream. Wonderful to say, moreover, this sphere of operation did not lie in Catholic South America, in which, in the middle of the previous century, they had been so powerful; neither was it in Brazil, nor in Mexico, nor in Peru, nor in Chili, nor in any other South American free

State which had formerly belonged to Spain, Portugal, or France; but, forsooth, in North America, or, more properly speaking, in the United States, notwithstanding that these had been founded by the Puritans, who play an important part there at the present day. Since the free legislation of the North American Union not only admits of every creed, but also tolerates every religious Society, and allows their establishment in any part of the territory of the United States, the Jesuit Fathers did not delay, after their re-establishment by the Pope, in taking a look over this part of the world to a small extent, to ascertain whether they might not, perhaps, here and there, do something for their Order; and lo, and behold! they found that a large field was open for their operations, as soon as they were able to reconcile themselves to the Republican tone of North America.

Father Roothaan, the General of the Order in Rome at that time, very quietly sent a mission to the Union, and it first of all took up its quarters in the almost thoroughly Catholic Maryland,\* whither, indeed, the Fathers had been earnestly summoned by some rich planters. An educational institution was speedily founded there, and was much sought after by the sons of wealthy parents, and thereupon followed a second, third, fourth, and fifth. The means were also sufficiently forthcoming, so richly, indeed, that in the course of a decade the Order saw itself in a position to make a beginning also in other States in which the population was Catholic, founding establishments, and in the end even venturing, at Georgetown, the second city of the district, and in the very heart of the Union, to erect a college, which, as regards its endowment and magnitude, might boldly rival any other "college" in the United States.

In short, the sons of Loyola gradually succeeded in making themselves quite a considerable power in North America, and the number of Catholics there gradually increased, through the

\* In 1632 King Charles I. of England presented all the land on the Chesapeake Bay, between Pennsylvania, Delaware, and Virginia, to his favourite Lord Baltimore, and he, a zealous Catholic, named it, in honour of the deceased Queen Mary, Maryland; as, however, King Charles was murdered by the Puritans, and all Catholics in England were persecuted with fire and sword, the latter could not be sufficiently thankful that a Maryland existed across the sea, as the same became to all of them an asylum, and, as it were, a second fatherland. Hence comes it that this State has conspicuously a Catholic population.

constant emigration from Ireland, as well as from the Rhine countries of Germany, to more than eight millions; and thus one may with certainty affirm that their influence will always be more and more in the ascendant. Thus, over all western Christendom, with the exception of but a few countries, the sons of Loyola firmly established themselves, and, indeed, all over the New World their wheat flourished in such a way as to enable them to anticipate a truly splendid harvest. Consequently, their power was by no means broken by the Abolition Bull of Pope Ganganeli, as, otherwise, they could not have risen again in the way they actually have done since 1814. They might have lost somewhat as to riches—perhaps even a very great deal, as they were deprived of their great possessions, and had to relinquish their extended traffic with the East and West Indies, which annually brought them in millions.

As regards members, on the other hand, they appear rather to have increased than diminished, and, in the number of assistancies and provinces, to have remained about stationary. The assistancies were reckoned as four: first, the Assistancy of Italy, with the provinces of Rome, Naples, Sicily, Turin, and Venice, which together, according to a proclamation of General Beckz, under date 11th July, 1850, numbered 8,350 members of the Order; secondly, the Assistancy of Spain, with three provinces, which could not, however, be openly so named, seeing that the Order, being for the time prohibited, could only exist there *incognito*; thirdly, the Assistancy of France, with the provinces of Paris, Lyons, and Toulouse, which together amounted to 7,420 members of the Order; fourthly, and lastly, the Assistancy of Germany, which was by far the largest, with the provinces of Austria, Germany (that is, Prussia and the smaller German States), Galicia, Belgium, England, and Ireland, with Maryland in America, which together amounted to a total of not less than 22,159 Jesuits.

The whole together, then, of the sons of Loyola were, in the year 1850, not fewer than 37,929, and with such an army, something considerable might certainly be effected; more especially as it consisted of only tried veterans, not even taking into account recruits, that is, novices and the train of lay brethren. And now omitting further consideration of the extension of the Jesuit Order, we will turn to the question of the ways and

means by which this re-ascendancy of the sons of Loyola had been brought about.

The answer is, however, easy, as the means which the disciples of Ignatius employed are, and always will be, the same: in the first place, they travel about preaching; then follow the confessional and further congregations and sodalities; lastly, educational institutions and public opinion. Indeed, the entire ways and means of the modern Jesuits were, and are, nothing different from their activity under Ignatius, warmed to life again, and one might almost fancy he had himself, with his associates, risen again from the grave. Let us take, for instance, the erratic preaching or the missions of the modern Jesuits; are they not, as everyone has stated to me who has happened to have lived near a Jesuit mission, a simple copy of what Bobadilla, Favre, and Canisius had already done. Every three, four, or half-a-dozen of them, would be selected to go round the world preaching. Only those were chosen with this object who were considered as specially endowed with the gift of speaking, and then only such as were in a position to avail themselves of this gift through their physical advantages. They ought to be, if possible, tall manly figures, with fiery eyes and pale cheeks, men upon whose countenances self-denial had imprinted itself, and whose whole appearance, supported by the long black cloak and prayer-book, ornamentally bound, proclaimed them to be "saints on earth." In a word, only such members of the Order were destined to be mission preachers as were similar to a Father Roden, a Botgeisser, a Haslach, an Anderledy, a Fruzzini, or a Waldburg-Zeil—six who went about all over Southern Germany during fifteen years or more, so that one might be certain that their preaching would not be ineffectual. How could this, indeed, be otherwise? They were only attracted to those towns and places where they knew that a part, at least, of the inhabitants were worshippers of bigotry, if even the remaining portion had been, perhaps, infected with the baneful spirit of enlightenment, or, indeed, been overtaken by heresy and Protestantism.

These towns were to them, indeed, the most agreeable, as the bigoted portion could then be so much the more easily inflamed to take the resolution of guarding themselves from the unholy touch of unbelieving people who had been contaminated

by Satan; and besides, it might be, perhaps, brought about that some lost daughter, or even son, might, by their eloquence, be induced to return into the bosom of the only saving Church. Seeing, however, that a portion of the inhabitants was captivated by the Fathers for a week or more beforehand, in the place where they had the intention of placing their mission cross, and as, also, they had not omitted to proclaim their coming beforehand, it was, then, an easy matter for them to reckon upon a large audience, and to double, or even treble it hour by hour. Ah! they preached, indeed, with the greatest fire, and were wonderfully skilled in infusing into their discourses the most effective descriptions and the most exciting comparisons. They had thoroughly well studied the art of working upon the minds of men, and entering upon the most delicate matters wonderfully unconcerned. They understood, indeed, so marvellously well how to describe the splendour and holiness of the heavenly regions, to which admission is accorded by Jesuit petitions, and through their influence. Ha! and then, moreover, Purgatory and Hell! They truly possessed the gift of description and of depicting in the highest degree, so that their hearers might well imagine how the infernal sea of flames was agitated up and down with the souls of those lost for ever, that is, of heretics and unbelievers. Indeed, in the excitement of a heated imagination one might be able to swear to hearing the cries of misery and the curses of the tormented, and to smell the smoke and fumes of the lake of sulphur! What heart, especially if beating in a female breast, would not be touched? in whom would not remorse be awakened? who would not be forcibly impelled to make known his sins to the holy Fathers, and to purchase absolution from them? Certainly, no one was able to withstand such a holy agitator, who was in such an excellent position to harangue the people; and was it not true good fortune that one might be able to have his sins remitted so easily by offerings, prayers, pilgrimages, and other outward means!

The greatest good fortune for the sons of Loyola was, however, when such-like missions were held in states and principalities where the members were not, as Jesuits, allowed to take up their abode, and where they had no legal home.

O Lord! the dear innocent missionaries are far from wishing to establish colleges or seminaries, and much less of making a domestic settlement; they merely come as "travellers" and "passers-by." Only as private individuals and guests of Bishops, whose personal freedom may not be so interfered with as that any questions should be put to them regarding their fellow-believers. Besides, it was not preaching alone which brought about these marvellous effects, but still more the *Hocus-pocus*, if I may be allowed to make use of such an expression, with which the pious Fathers were wont to adorn their missions. They made their appearance, indeed, as little better than play-actors, well knowing that the mass of the people were carried away by nothing so much as splendour on the one side and buffoonery on the other! In this respect I could bring forward a number of proofs of this usual missionary *Hocus-pocus*; for instance, one of the very worthy Fathers would mount the pulpit as the advocate of the Roman Catholic and apostolical religion, thundering down with the full force of his lungs upon another who, in the guise of the living Satan, defended the cause of irreligion and heresy; but such-like things are too well known that it should be necessary for me to dilate further on them.

Who does not call to mind, at these missions, the usual pomp displayed, the Mount Calvary, the "public deprecations," the "way to the cross," and many other similar things? Who does not remember about the heaps of Mary's images, statues of Christ, Agnus Dei, relics and crucifixes, which are sold to the faithful after having been endowed, by the magic wand of the Jesuits, with the power of working wonders? The power, indeed, of operating against witches and ghosts, as well as counteracting diseases, burns, and every thing of the kind? All this was brought into use at these Jesuit missions, whatever, indeed, might have an effect on the superstitious minds of the hearers, and no artifice remained untried in order to make the people enthusiastic "for the things of religion," as the sons of Loyola expressed themselves; that is, in plainer language, to drive away from the uneducated and ignorant masses all sound religious ideas, and instil into them, instead, the grossest superstition, as well as, also, the deepest veneration for the Society of Jesus.

*Mundus vult decipi, ergo decipiatur*—"The world wishes to

be deceived, it will therefore be deceived"—is an old proverb, and the sons of Loyola conducted their missions according to this notion. The superstitious peasants, however, allowed themselves to be persuaded by the latter to buy Ignatius' powder against the danger of fire, Ignatius' water against devils and ghosts, and Ignatius' pennies against pestilence and contagious diseases; but these, indeed, were even better than those poor women who allowed themselves to be goaded to distraction by the insane descriptions of the torments of hell, and were sometimes driven to take refuge in mad-houses.

The second approved means of acquiring power and influence has ever been, amongst the sons of Loyola, the confessional, and this mode they employ, even now, with the best results. It is not, however, the consciences of the common people that lie at their heart, as it is not easy to work upon the ordinary populace by means of missions; it is rather the consciences of the people of rank, the powerful and influential, whilst, too, through them alone, can anything be got. Consequently, in all Catholic countries the positions of Father Confessors at Courts were almost invariably found to be held by Jesuits, either open or disguised, and where this was not the case no means were left untried in order to overthrow those ecclesiastics who acted as spiritual advisers. Now this was in many cases by no means easy of accomplishment, as one may, perhaps, well imagine that the previous Father Confessors were not infrequently men of sense, and knew how to defend themselves; but when all means were ineffectual, when neither calumnation, bribery, nor dissimulation led to the end to be attained, the Jesuits took to their last resource, the influence of woman,—and this remedy never remained without effect. Who is the mother who has not a son, and who the spouse who has not a husband, who has not witnessed lovers having everything in their power, as where is the man who does not allow himself to be governed by a beloved daughter of Eve? It was precisely on these grounds that the sons of Loyola made it always their great aim to gain over the women, and as they now, in their seminaries, expressly brought up suitable youths with this object, they always found among their ranks some, at least, whose mellifluous speech and physical beauty it was not easy for the female mind to withstand.

In these crooked ways, then, the pious Fathers always attained

what they desired ; and how, then, was it to be wondered at that the situations of Court Father Confessors were almost always to be found in the hands of the sons of Ignatius ? No, verily, on this point need no one wonder, and still less as to the use to which they put the confessional. Their main object, indeed, was to regain for their Society the dominion which it possessed previous to its abolition, and, in order to accomplish this, the belief must be established among the great of this earth that the Jesuits alone were the possessors of true religion, while by their aid only could a monarchical Government be upheld.

They continually whispered into the ears of the princes that, "with the abolition of the Society of Jesus the power of the Roman See sank lower and lower ; with this See the power of kings, also, diminished in a precisely similar proportion. Thereupon broad thinking, enlightenment, and science, or, as it may otherwise be called, irreligion, burst all the bands of obedience to the laws, and the general spirit of liberty which now spreads itself from one end of the world to the other is nothing else than the degradation of the true faith. This must, then, be firmly planted again, and in order to accomplish this the sons of Loyola alone are fitted."

Such is the confessional teaching of the Jesuits, and what they meant by the "true faith" is to be seen in their missions, with their rosaries, their scapularies, their penitential shirts, their fasts, their processions, and all the other baubles of their worship.

A third means for the attainment of power and riches by the sons of Loyola was the congregations and sodalities which they established in all Catholic countries, and, in truth, the same of which I have already spoken so much. Mankind remains always the same, and as a fanatical use of religion must immediately exercise an extraordinary influence upon worshippers and bigots, therefore the sons of Ignatius instituted—and so it is even at the present time—holy brotherhoods, the members of which confess almost daily, as well as communicate, fast, and devote themselves to other holy exercises. They instituted them because all these fanatical devotional exercises proceeded under their own personal supervision, and because thus the brothers, united together in the sodalities, were not only quite dependent upon them, but also formed a body-guard for the Order which was not at all to be



despised. Moreover, it would be erroneous, were it to be believed that these sodalities were confined entirely to the male sex, and that, in the Society of Jesus, mere "brotherhoods" had been founded, taking this word in its literal meaning. It was, indeed, quite the opposite, and there are actually, among the many congregations dependent on the Society of Jesus, far more females than males. This is especially the case in those countries in which the Society, being still nominally prohibited, dare not make its appearance openly; and the wonderfully sagacious Fathers, who never undervalued the influence of the fair sex, well knew how to set to work.

One meets, then, in all Catholic Christian countries, large communities of "sisters of mercy," who, to all appearance, know no other object in life but to be useful to mankind as nurses to the sick. In this manner they manage everywhere to get the hospitals into their own hands. If, however, one looks into their proceedings more minutely, it may at once be seen that the cure of the souls of the sick, and their conversion to the true faith, according to Jesuitical instructions, lie more at their heart than a regard for the body and the healing of physical ailments. Indeed, as it has been long ago proved, by magisterial investigations, the nursing of the sick, and the innocent title which they bear, are only made use of by them as an ensign, that they may be able more surely to work less disturbed for their friends the Jesuits. Further, there are "Ladies of the Holy Heart of Mary and of the Infant Jesus" who have found especially a great development in the Roman States, and whose position is to the female youth what the sons of Loyola are to the male. In other words, they devote themselves entirely and solely to the education of young maidens, and their system of education corresponds exactly with that of the Jesuits; on this account, these ladies have also got the name of "Jesuitesses." Lastly, there are communities which are still more widely disseminated, the "Sisters of the True Faith," called also, in France, "*Mères de la Foi*"; and I need not waste words in affirming that these, too, are nothing more than instruments of the Society of Jesus for clearing the way for its reception and propagation. This name, "*Mère de la Foi*," evidently signifies the same as "*Père de la Foi*," of which I have already made mention.

Thus, in short, the Society of Jesus directs its chief attention, wherever it has penetrated since its re-establishment, to the formation of congregations and sodalities, as well of the male as of the female sex, and the holy Fathers contrived to take good care that the people should flock for admittance into these and similar "holy societies." O Lord! there occurred so much excitement and agitation about this that it was, indeed, hardly possible to withstand it. One has only to consider the monthly general communion with thorough plenary indulgence! One has only to think of the devotion of nine Sundays in honour of the Holy Ignatius, of the nine in honour of the Holy Xavier, of the six Sundays in honour of the Holy Aloysius, and of the league in honour of the Holy Heart of Jesus! Reflect on the many pilgrimages, offerings, and processional prayers, especially, however, on the holy exercises with the churches draped in black, and the titillating scourges, and such like. Was there, then, any wonder that, as has been stated, people of all conditions flocked to be received into the sodalities? The Jesuits, however, exercised all over the world, through these societies, a power not to be undervalued, as they remained, without exception, under the supervision and control of the Jesuit General in Rome, who carefully looked after them through wandering members of the Society, causing lists and reports of them to be sent to him, with whose wishes they were obliged unhesitatingly to comply.

Yet still more than by these missions, confessionals, and sodalities, the sons of Loyola, in modern times, contrived to procure for themselves consideration and acceptance through their educational institutions, and thus the old story was repeated of which I have already spoken in the Second Book of this work. They commenced quite imperceptibly wherever they came, and perhaps some few pupils formed in the whole year the sole foundation; but after two or three years had passed the thing had developed itself quite marvellously, and instead of a few poor scholars they possessed hundreds, if not more. Among these, however, the most part belonged to the higher classes, and it happened, of course, that instead of a small unpretending house, in which instruction had begun to be given, there was in its place a grand palace which almost resembled a university. Astonishment was, perhaps, manifested at this extraordinary

change, and it was looked on as a miracle; without reason, however, as it was only a natural consequence. The sons of Loyola demonstrated to the higher classes, and especially to the nobility of the land, that the spirit of modern times was highly depraved; they told them that the so-called enlightenment of the day was alone to blame for the revolutionary movements of the last seventy or eighty years; they proved to them that all the pernicious changes which had weighed so heavily upon the nobility, in the political organisation of States, would have been impossible if the old faith had still governed the minds of men to its full extent; lastly, they cautioned people most earnestly, and by the most horrible suggestions, against allowing the youth of the nobility to be educated together with the common herd at the ordinary gymnasiums and universities, and they represented the danger lest they might also imbibe the poison of new-fangled worldly opinions. Such and similar sentiments were continually given out by the sons of Loyola, who, at the same time, maintained such a truly settled expression of countenance that no one could have any doubt about the truth of their words.

What was left, then, for the noble parents, who would gladly have seen the condition of the world re-established as it was previous to the French Revolution? What was open for them to do, but to confide their sons to the Jesuits, in order that they might be educated in the true faith, and in proper views as regards worldly affairs? What remained for them, besides, but to assist the poor Fathers of the Order energetically with gold and goods, because there was really no other way left for the correct nurture of their sons, as they would otherwise be obliged to allow them to grow up in the degraded society of the common people, in which they must necessarily become acquainted with the subversive ideas as to thrones and altar pervading the present century? This, then, accounts for the palatial appearance of the new Jesuit colleges, and hence came the overcrowding of the latter with the youth alone of the nobility \* But, in truth, the noble

\* The South German reader who wishes to convince himself of the truth of what is here related through personal observation, has not far to travel, for he finds everything confirmed most completely should he betake himself to Gorheim, in Sigmaringen, or to Feldkirch, in Southern Austria. It swarms there with young Barons, Counts, and even Princes, whose home is to be found for the most part in tolerably distant countries, such as West-

parents did not consider that the Jesuits' method of teaching in their colleges continued to be the same as it had been for centuries previous to the suppression of the Order, a method which had been acknowledged as entirely vicious, defective, and generally injurious.

The high-born barons, counts, and princes did not take into consideration that, centuries ago, no truly scientific education was to be got from the Jesuits, but merely a semblance of the same; indeed, a poor external varnish concealed an inward unsubstantial foundation. They did not reflect that the extraordinary progress witnessed in this century, both as regards education, the art of teaching, and the sciences themselves, particularly natural science, was completely ignored in the Jesuit schools, and that the pupils of the latter were necessarily, as concerns their knowledge and attainments, very far behind their companions educated elsewhere. A Liberal deputy of the great Council of Freiburg spoke thus, when the question regarding the education given to the academical youth by the Society of Jesus was before them:—"Would you give over this most sacred trust, the education of youth, to such men? Fanatical half monks, who do not, in the least, possess the knowledge of ordinary preceptors, and who are very far removed from the summit of modern science; a loose heap of Italians, French, and Germans collected together, full of pride and self-esteem, who, without true culture and information, inveigh with hate against freedom and enlightenment; men who fundamentally falsify history and the science of nature, in order not to mention the ideas of modern times; who only propagate stupidity and superstition; and, as they belong to no particular country of their own, drive out of the minds of their pupils the most noble of all feelings, that of patriotism." Thus spoke one of the free Swiss citizens; and that he was perfectly right in what he said, anyone may be convinced by the subsequent experiences in Freiburg.

Lastly, I must still make mention of a fifth means, by which the sons of Loyola contrived to raise themselves in estimation and consolidate their power; and that is, their influence on public opinion. They knew only too well how much depends upon

phalia, Hungary, Poland, and elsewhere. In Northern Germany, however, the principal colleges are to be sought for on the Rhine, especially in the dioceses of Cologne, Treves, Paderborn, and Münster.

this, and, therefore, they immediately launched against their opponents such a hail of pamphlets and lampoons that these latter could hardly walk upright under the weight. As now, however, in our times, in the place of contentious writings, brochures, and pamphlets, newspapers are to be met with, the Loyolites did not delay a moment in making themselves at home in this department; and there was soon no country, indeed, no province, in which the Society of Jesus did not possess its own peculiar organ, that is to say, a public print which, conducted in a Jesuitical spirit, defended Jesuit principles, teaching, and interests. In this respect I have only to call to mind the so-called *Deutsche Volksblatt* in Stuttgart, the *Friedrichshafener Seeblatt*, the *Baden Beobachter*, the *Munich Volksboten*, the *Mainzer Journal*, the *Tyrol Stimmen*, the *Dillinger Aehrenlese*, the *Sonntagsblatt* of Uhl, the *Alban Stolz'schen Blätter*, and many more of a similar description. These nine appeared in Southern Germany alone, and from this the reader can form some idea as to what a mass of newspapers were at the command of the Jesuits all over Christendom. It is true that these prints were not always conducted with skill, but, on the other hand, they abounded with abuse and falsehoods, that is, with calumnious and coarse attacks on those of a different opinion from themselves. The Loyolites were doubtless aware of the old Latin proposition, *Semper aliquid hæret*, and on that account they seldom hesitated to project the most foolish calumnies against those who thought differently from them. They thus calculated in their minds: "The public will, it is true, be of opinion that we have been libelling, but still, nevertheless, there will certainly be on the part of many a belief that there may be at least some truth in what we advance, and, therefore, our untruths will always be productive of some advantage."

It will be seen, then, that the Jesuits continued to act on the same principles which they formerly allowed themselves to adopt as regards their many dealings with the remaining Orders and ecclesiastics; and even their most respectable and greatest organ, the *Civiltà Cattolica*, could not clear itself from such a reproach.

These are the means by which the Society of Jesus, after its re-establishment by the Pope, contrived to attain its powerful position, and I must repeat that such were exactly the ways

and methods of which Loyola and his first scholars made use. The Jesuits remain entirely the same as of old, precisely as their great patrons the Popes, and whoever can have any doubt on the subject, let him please to put himself right about it; let him learn how they were wont to maintain the vows of poverty and chastity; let him instruct himself as to how the doctrine of approved murder and assassination was practised by them, and then certainly will all his doubts be set at rest. In relation to the vow of poverty, the greater part of thinking people are of one mind only on the subject, that the sons of Loyola have never carried on the pest of legacy-hunting to such an extent as happened after their re-establishment, and this is proclaimed already by that petition to the French Senate to which I have before briefly alluded. Besides, can the many complaints which are continually coming before the courts of justice, brought by injured relatives, have their origin merely in fabricated charges? However, I will not allow myself to enter into too minute details thereupon, but merely content myself with explaining the particulars of a single case which occurred only a few years ago, because the reader can draw a conclusion from this single instance respecting all the others, especially in regard to the way of proceeding on the part of the Loyolites.

At the beginning of the thirtieth year of our century, a bachelor of the name of William de Boey, already rather advanced in life, settled in Antwerp, in order to live there as a private individual. He had previously been a merchant, and had through fortunate speculations acquired for himself a colossal fortune of nearly six million of francs. The interest of this property he did not require to use for himself, as he lived a comparatively very simple life; instead, however, of adding it to the capital, he annually expended large sums in benevolent objects, and no one was ever turned away from his door who was in any need of assistance. Besides which, he aided energetically his poor relatives, of whom he had a number, and thus the name of William de Boey was highly esteemed by everyone all through Antwerp. Even envy had nothing to bring forward against the good old gentleman, his rather contracted mind and almost extravagant bigotry alone excepted. Thus things went on for several years, till towards the end of thirty years some members of the Society of Jesus gained admit-

tance into the rich man's house, under the pretext of soliciting a contribution for a poor man in distress; from this time forward, however, a complete change took place in the manner and way in which William de Boey exercised his benevolence. As he had formerly given a friendly ear to the voice of any deserving person, be he priest or layman, he only listened now on the advice of the Jesuits, and instead of, as formerly, making the whole needy population of Antwerp happy, he now gave only to those who were recommended by the sons of Loyola, that is, to themselves. He bought for them a large house in the city in order to found a college, besides which he assigned considerable revenues to them to meet the rest of their expenses.

Now, notwithstanding the large donations which the good Fathers Boone, Vanhalsenoy, Hessels, Lhoir, and Franqueville, who proved themselves so very active in the matter, contrived to obtain from the rich old man, they must needs cast their eyes on the capital of the property, that is, on the six millions, and in order to get possession of it De Boey must be brought to execute a will in their favour. This was, in truth, a very difficult undertaking, as the old gentleman, as already said, had very many relations, and of these he loved several almost as much as if they had been his own children. Thus, especially, Maria de Buck, one of his nieces, and two nephews, by name W. Grabeels and Benedict de Buck, the latter of whom, indeed, resided with and was brought up by him, while the other two daily came in and out of his house. Still, the worthy Fathers, of whom the General of the Order had conducted the business of the heritage with De Boey, belonged to the most experienced, sharp-sighted, and intelligent of the Order, and, consequently, they would not long remain undecided as to the step contemplated by them. They perceived that the relations of the old man must be estranged, that they must be made to be suspected by him, and that by degrees he must be brought to the belief that the cousins and nieces came about him, and paid him so many visits, merely to see if they would ere long enter on the inheritance, that is, whether the rich uncle would soon be taken out of their way by death. This means worked well, and William de Boey caused himself to be denied to all his nephews and nieces, with the exception alone of the three above-mentioned, Maria de Buck, W. Grabeels, and Benedict de Buck. And even

this did not last long, as Maria de Buck was not allowed any more to enter the room of the uncle, his spiritual advisers having succeeded in persuading him that she was leading an immoral kind of life, and that her tender sympathies were of no value. The sons of Loyola proceeded with equal skill against W. Gra-beels, as they at once sent him over to America, as soon as they had brought him to enter their Order as a novice, and caused him to be shut up in a trial house in the State of Missouri. There remained, then, only the young Benedict de Buck to get rid of, and, indeed, as quickly as possible, as the latter enjoyed the special favour of the uncle, and there was the greatest danger that his liking for him would only increase year by year, owing to the sprightly and amiable behaviour of the boy. But there was no need for anxiety about the matter, as Father Lhoir had taken it in hand, and as he was in the first rank as to his Jesuitical capacity, it would be criminal to doubt that he would bring it to a fortunate termination. Before everything the Father strove, with this object, to obtain the most unlimited confidence from his confessant William de Boey; and this was easy on account of the extraordinary knowledge of human nature which the spiritual adviser possessed, coupled with the gentle tractability of the merchant's disposition. He first offered his assistance to the old gentleman in regard to the education of his favourite Benedict, and he did this with such an expression of sincerity and kindness, that the old gentleman, as a matter of course, consented with pleasure. Now, then, in order to render the young man zealous in the study of languages and sciences, and, at the same time, in order to be able to keep him away from the evil influence of the bad fellows of Antwerp, Benedict was scarcely ever allowed out of the house, so that he was obliged completely to dispense with the natural pleasures of boyhood. On the other hand, the Father took care to excite to the extreme the lively imagination of the young man, and by the use of dissuasion from worldly lusts, which he described in the most glowing colours, to create in him an earnest longing after these very sins. The consequence of this could be no other than that the nearer the boy approached to the age of manhood, the more unbearable became the constraint in which he was held, and he began to give way to excesses which not infrequently accompany that time of life. Instead, now, however,



of remonstrating kindly with the youth, as to the impropriety of such indulgences, to which for the most part the Father had in an underhand way given rise, he not only censured them most vehemently, but, what was the chief thing, represented them in the light of real crimes to the uncle now imbecile from age. On this account there necessarily arose an estrangement between the two, as the uncle saw in his nephew no longer the dear relative who, in the stead of a son, should enliven the evening of his life, but rather an ungrateful "ne'er-do-well," on whom all the kindnesses he had lavished had been completely thrown away; and, on the other hand, the young Benedict shunned the company of his uncle, as that of a morose peevish man, who embittered all the joys of existence by his excessive strictness. Thus it was in the house of old de Boey, when Benedict, after having passed the age of fifteen, being seized with a longing after the outer world, on one occasion left his lonely apartment in order to refresh his disordered mind in God's free air. Accident threw in his way some boys of his own age, and they soon struck up an acquaintance with each other. The young company took their road to a chapel before the town, in which, at the time of their visiting it, neither a sacristan nor any other devout person was present. Everything, therefore—the sacristy, the organ, and the altar with the holy pictures placed at the back of it—remained completely open to the undisturbed diversion of the boys. Among these holy pictures there happened to be a Madonna with a heavenly crown of silver, and this attracting the eyes of the young fellows, they declared it to be fair booty. Benedict himself took no part in the theft, but, nevertheless, did not venture to oppose his newly-acquired comrades, and bound himself under a promise of inviolable silence. Of course, the transaction soon became noised abroad, and Benedict was obliged to confess his own complicity, while the real thieves did not omit to point him out as a ringleader, as they thought that the near relative and heir of so rich a man as old de Boey would not be much of a sufferer. Such, indeed, would certainly have been the case had only Father Lhoir not been in existence. Now he had for some years past longed for some such occurrence, and he would have been no true son of Loyola had he not taken full advantage thereof. He, therefore, did not fail to represent the matter to old de Boey in the

darkest light possible, and endeavoured to bring him at once to the conviction that only a very exemplary punishment of his nephew would save the young thief from a criminal course of life. Lastly, in spite of the earnest entreaties of Benedict not to expose his shame, as he had, indeed, not himself taken any part in the robbery, he did not omit to bring the case before the judgment court of Antwerp, and to take care that his pupil should be sentenced to the degradation of a year's imprisonment for being concerned in a church robbery.

This occurred at the end of 1834, and the first step towards making a galley-convict of the young Benedict had succeeded. The young man was at once conveyed to the penitentiary at St. Bernard, and everybody knows what is learned in such an institution.

In order to bring him back to the way of virtue, then, after the period of punishment had transpired, his uncle, by the advice of Father Lhoir, had him confined in the lunatic asylum of Froidmont. He had, it seems, come across an old law, by which it was allowed to a relative to place an irreclaimable member of his family in an institution of the kind with the view of curing him. Froidmont, however, was such a peculiar reformatory that the young Benedict shortly became a Bedlamite, and in one of his fits of madness made his escape without further ado. He was next found on the esplanade at Antwerp, with a sword-stick and a newly-discharged pistol in his hand, shouting out and staggering like a drunken person. He was immediately arrested, and examined by a physician, and anew brought back to Froidmont, because he was evidently suffering from mental aberration; but Father Lhoir made good use of this circumstance in order to bring the uncle to the conviction that Benedict had at that time the intention of murdering his uncle, and had only by a fortunate circumstance been prevented from making the attempt. After his fresh arrest—in August 1836—Benedict was compelled to pass another year at Froidmont, and he would probably have remained there during the remainder of his life, had he not, for a second time, found an occasion to make his escape.

When, however, he now installed himself again in the uncle's house in Antwerp, he entreated the latter so urgently not to send him back to the lunatic asylum, that the latter at

last consented. But what was now to be done with the youth? Whither was he to be sent? A mercantile house in Havanna was tried, but the house became bankrupt, and the youth was again without employment. Father Lhoir now advised that the lad should go to Braine-le-Comte, in order to learn carpentry under carpenter Lhoir, the Jesuit's own brother: and as the Father, in the meantime, had from confessor and spiritual adviser to old de Boey been raised also to be his man of business and factor, the uncle approved of the plan, as might be understood. Benedict, then, at the beginning of his twentieth year, was obliged to become apprentice to a carpenter; but, from peculiar circumstances, he acquired a taste for his new trade, and so much zeal, that in a short time he arrived at considerable efficiency therein. He became acquainted in Braine-le-Comte, with a girl of the name of Catherine Manfroid, and the two became so enamoured with each other that they wished to marry. Consequently Benedict applied to his uncle for his consent, and while in the meantime he had become quite a steady man, he had so little doubt about the matter that he at once made the furniture ready as dowry. He had, however, reckoned without his host, as how could the sons of Loyola consent to such a marriage as this, in consequence of which his uncle would doubtless become reconciled to him? Then he would again be installed as the dear favourite nephew, and the prospect of inheriting the six millions would have become, for the Society of Jesus, very dark indeed. On this account the carpenter Lhoir was instructed to send such a disreputable report about Catherine to Antwerp, that old de Boey was in despair in regard to complying with the request of his nephew, and Father Lhoir was commissioned to put an end to the business as soon as possible. The Father set off immediately for Braine-le-Comte, and declared to Benedict that his uncle would disinherit him if he did not forthwith give up Catherine, and ended by bringing him to Tournai, to a secret agent of the Society of Jesus called Philippart. Here Benedict remained under the strictest observation; or he was, rather, kept as a prisoner, and, especially, without any money whatever at his disposal.

But the more strictly they proceeded against him, the more his longing increased after his beloved one; so he took an opportunity which occurred to embezzle from his tormentor,

Philippart, a small sum to enable him to travel to Braine-le-Comte. Philippart was at once indemnified by Father Lhoir, but was instructed to lodge a complaint, in consequence of which Benedict was sentenced afresh to imprisonment in his former house of correction in St. Bernard, but this time not for one year but for three years.

That was the second step towards his becoming a galley-convict, and now the third was not far off. After Benedict had completed his term of punishment, Father Lhoir brought him away from St. Bernard and took him to Arlon, once more to a carpenter, whilst he at the same time intimated to him that his uncle de Boey was still too irritated to see his nephew. Benedict then continued to pursue his avocation at Arlon, and gave satisfaction. After a couple of months, however, he determined to go on his travels, in order to see a little of the world, and during his wanderings he first came to Prussia, and later on to Würtemberg, where he for some little time remained at work.

Towards the end of the year 1842 he went to France, in order to become acquainted with that country; as he, however, found no work there, he wished, from want of money, to enlist in the Foreign Legion in the beginning of January at Grenoble, under the name of Vandael, and thereupon at once informed Father Lhoir about it, whom he still foolishly continued to look upon as a fatherly friend. His entrance into the Legion, however, never took place, but, on the contrary, he met with punishment in the galleys; or, more correctly, compulsory labour in the hulks of Toulon.

On the 30th of January 1843, he happened to fall in with two people of bad reputation, and as all three of them did not possess a single sou between them, they arranged among themselves to procure money somewhere or other. They set upon a carrier at night, got hold of him, and robbed him of everything. The whole amount obtained was only about seven francs, but it was, nevertheless, robbery; and as the thieves were immediately apprehended, they were sentenced for the crime. Benedict got, from the Assize Court of the Departement du Bar, six years' punishment in the hulks, and, under the assumed name of Vandael, was at once conveyed to Toulon. His fate had now overtaken him; yet nothing was known of it in his uncle's

house, but it was believed there, from the statement of Father Lhoir, that he had proceeded with the Foreign Legion to Algiers; and yet more, it was rumoured shortly afterwards that he had met with his death in Africa; and old de Boey also participated in this belief without Father Lhoir ever having told him anything to the contrary, although he, as we shall soon afterwards learn, was perfectly well aware of the real truth.

While all this was going on, the Jesuits had, in the meantime, been making themselves more at home in the house of old de Boey; especially Fathers Lhoir, Boone, and Hessels, and they soon carried it on so far, that of all among the whole number of the old gentleman's relations there was not a single one of them who dared to come near him. The servants received orders to refuse admittance to any of them, under the pretext that the uncle was otherwise engaged, or that he had gone to bed, or was asleep; there was always, however, at least one of the Jesuits on the spot, and, indeed, they took care never to lose sight of the old gentleman, even during the night. Of course, the welfare of his soul always lay, especially, at the bottom of their hearts, and even, on this account, they whispered into his ear: "If you leave your fortune to your family, all harm that they in future will do with the money—and that they will do harm there can be no doubt from the spiritual condition of your relations—will rest on your soul."

Nevertheless, the old gentleman appeared not to be in any hurry to make a will in favour of the Jesuits, and in order, therefore, to overcome his last resistance, they persuaded him to make a journey to Rome, where he might obtain a plenary indulgence. De Boey, although already a decrepit old man, determined upon this course, and, accompanied by two of the Fathers mentioned, he devoted fully fifteen months to the capital of Christendom, and her hundreds of churches and cloisters. However, after that he had so long prayed and made pilgrimages, and, indeed, incurred an expenditure of more than 200,000 francs, in presents to the Pope and the saints, he came to the conviction that his soul's welfare would be endangered if he did not benefit the Society of Jesus in preference to his relations; and thus, at length, was the great aim attained for which the sons of Loyola had devoted so much time, trouble, and consideration. In short, after his return from that troublesome

journey to Rome, William de Boey died on the 25th February 1850, and true enough—the Fathers Hessels and Boone had never, during his last days, left his side—a will was found. According to the same, the whole of his near relatives, eighteen in number, with the sole exception of Benedict de Buck, whom William de Boey considered to be dead, obtained legacies to the amount, in all, of about 35,000 francs, and, at the same time, annuities to the same extent were secured to them for life; but the whole residue of this colossal property was assigned to an advocate of the name of Valentyns, affiliated to the Society of Jesus, who at once made it over, as soon as he took possession thereof, to the Order in question. Valentyns, whom de Boey had not known at all before, and who had entered the house only three days before for the first time, was thus only a fictitious heir in order to get over the restrictions which legally stood in the way of leaving property directly to the Jesuits, and the sons of Loyola made no secret that they had obtained the inheritance. On the other hand, they at once built the magnificent College in Antwerp, which they still possess, and they go so far as to concede, when the question is asked how much the inheritance amounted to, to reply, with a soft, humble voice, “It was not so considerable as public report made it out to be.”

The Jesuits had thus attained their object, and the relations of the rich old man were cheated out of the property which naturally should have been theirs. This fraud was so apparent, too, that all Antwerp became indignant about it, and those who had been so deeply injured were encouraged on all sides to raise complaints, in order that the evidently surreptitious will might be upset. They did not do so, however, and could not do so, as the said will contained a clause that, on the least attempt of the relations to contest the same, they should forfeit the legacies accorded to them. The clause ran as follows:

“As the concord and unanimity of my family lies at my heart, and, as I wish to prevent all legal proceedings and strife, I direct and affirm that each individual legatee must put full confidence in the honesty of my universal heir, and if any one of them, or several of them, to whom is accorded a special legacy or pension, commences any kind of contention, or raises any action at law against my universal heir, or permits himself to enter into any transaction with the object of impeaching the

validity of my present will: I affirm and require that the person or persons who shall attempt anything of the kind, shall forfeit all their rights which they may have to any pension or any special legacy whatever."

Thus was it explicitly stated in the testament; and how, then, could one or more of the relatives to whom legacies were assigned, dare to proceed with a complaint against the Jesuits? Oh! the sons of Loyola were sufficiently cunning, and knew how to make certain of their booty in every way. But, behold! they still found themselves in a dilemma, and, indeed, in one of no trifling character, as there existed yet another of the relatives of the deceased rich man who had not received any legacy, and who might contest the will, as he was not affected by this said clause. This relative was no other than Benedict de Buck, whom William de Boey once so much loved that Father Lhoir found it necessary, by suspicious machinations and subornations, to make out as morally dead. Indeed, in spite of his knowledge to the contrary, he allowed him to be considered so, in order that his uncle, holding him to be lost for ever, should not bring the old love to his recollection by leaving anything to him. I say, in spite of his knowledge to the contrary, as Benedict, as soon as he was confined in the hulks, at once applied to the said Father and accurately related to him not only everything that had befallen him, but requested his intercession with his uncle. Still, were this Benedict de Buck even yet alive, had the Society of Jesus, on that account, any cause for anxiety? Indeed, he was for nine years a man lost to the world, as, from forcible attempts at escape, the original term of six years had been further increased to three years more in the penitentiary. Besides, no one in his home knew anything about the matter, whether he was still alive, and there was nothing to be afraid of, nor was it likely that anyone belonging to him should take him up. What occasion is there, then, to repeat that there was no need for anxiety on his account, especially as it was no easy matter for anyone to hear of his existence, because in the hulks he went by the assumed name of Vandael.

The Society of Jesus, however, determined to go to work as circumspectly as possible, and Father Lhoir, who had hitherto so well contrived to get the better of the helpless fellow, whereby to gain advantage for the Jesuits, did not now venture for an instant

to lose sight of him. This he did not do for a single moment, but at once entered into correspondence with him, and endeavoured, by means of small donations, to make the convict believe that he would always find a benefactor and fatherly friend in his spiritual adviser. The said money donations effected this result, though Benedict, by his own confession, obtained, from time to time, but 740 francs, of which, moreover, the jailer retained for himself more than half. When, then, the Father subsequently, in the autumn of 1849, demanded from the prisoner a full, free, and heartfelt confession of all his misdeeds, sins, and lawlessnesses, with the object of pacifying the indignant uncle, Benedict forthwith complied. The Father thus obtained, in November, the written confession desired; and who now was more delighted than he?

"Now," rejoiced he in his heart, "now, friend Benedict, dare to say a word! Now, just try to make a complaint against me and my Order on account of legacy-hunting! As soon as you do this, or as soon as you show any inclination to do so, I shall, regardless of consequences, hand over to the tribunal of secret confession the statement of your evil deeds, and annihilate you under the weight of your shame!"

In the meantime, as it appeared, Lhoir did not entertain the slightest fear that the matter would ever come to extremities, but was rather inclined to hold the opinion that Benedict, who did not enjoy the best of health, might end his life in the hulks, and, on that account, did not even intimate to him the death of his uncle, which, as before stated, occurred on the 25th February 1850. On the other hand, he continued to send him money as if it came from de Boey. Finally, however, as the day of his liberation nearer and nearer approached, he now thought it necessary to make disclosures to the prisoner regarding the death, because the matter must shortly come out, and at the same time he commissioned the prison chaplain to offer him, in the name of the Society of Jesus, a yearly income of 1,200 francs, on condition of his renouncing all further claims. With this brilliant offer he, however, thoroughly failed, as at length Benedict de Buck's eyes were completely opened, when he became aware how he had been treated in his uncle's will, and quite passed over as a deceased person, and he now perceived what kind of a friend he possessed in Father Lhoir. He was seized at once with violent rage, and not only rejected with disdain the offer of the 1,200 francs, but



vowed, indeed, to do *his utmost* to take revenge on Father Lhoir, who had deceived him so shamefully, as well as on the Antwerp Jesuits.

All this the prison chaplain, whose name was Van Hammée, wrote to the said Father in Belgium, and he consequently was aware of all that had occurred. Finally, in the autumn of 1852, Benedict de Buck, on the expiration of his nine years at the hulks, was at length liberated, and at once made his way to Belgium in order to seek out Father Lhoir. He encountered him at Mons, on the 20th October 1852, and at once peremptorily demanded from him the payment of his proper share of his uncle's succession. This imperious tone, however, made no impression on Father Lhoir, but he contemptuously searched his pocket, and offered to the other a bank-note for a hundred francs, as if he were a beggar, and, shrugging his shoulders, added, "that was all he could do for him, and should de Buck demand any more, he might certainly reckon upon eternal disgrace and moral annihilation." Such behaviour naturally made the man, cheated of his inheritance, perfectly furious, and he thereupon threatened the Jesuit. De Buck, at length, presented a pistol at the Father, without firing it off, however, whereupon some persons coming to the pious Father's assistance, easily seized it out of the culprit's hands, and, by the order of Father Lhoir, without any resistance on the part of the offender, handed him over to the police. It was all over with the poor man, as the Father made a complaint against him for attempt at murder, and, at the same time, produced the written circumstantial confession of his sins, in order to prejudice the judges all the more strongly against the accused. They, indeed, allowed themselves to be thus influenced, as their friend the Jesuit Father desired it to be so; since, too, unfortunately, Benedict was found in possession of several tools which might be taken as thieves' instruments, although they were merely carpenters' tools, namely, a saw, a file, an English awl, a description of dagger, &c., the Appeal Court of Brussels condemned him, on the 16th April 1853, to ten years' imprisonment, and afterwards to ten years' police surveillance, on account of vagrancy and carrying about on him weapons and forbidden instruments. "Now complain of us for legacy hunting!" jeered Father Lhoir, with devilish delight, as his victim was conveyed to the prison

of Vilvorde, as he naturally believed that it was impossible for the prisoner to survive this fresh punishment. He did, however, serve his time and a still further six months also, which the Brussels Court of Judicature accorded to him for an attempt at escape. He stood out the ten years and a half, and his spirit was so little broken that, as soon as he had obtained his freedom, on the 13th October 1863, he was able to institute the long-contemplated action against the plunderers of the succession appertaining to his family. But, behold! he was again arrested, at the instance of the Antwerp Jesuits, for having threatened them with death in writing, and placed before the Jury Court of the Province of Brabant; for Friedrich Bossaert, the Provincial of the Jesuit Order in Belgium, had received a letter from the penitentiary of Vilvorde bearing the signature of Benedict de Buck, and in this letter the Jesuits, namely, the Provincial Bossaert and the Fathers Lhoir and Hessels, were not only directly accused of having stolen the inheritance of him, Benedict de Buck, but there were therein strong threats, conjoined with the most malicious, insulting expressions. "I declare expressly to you," concludes the letter, "that wherever I may be, I shall never renounce my rightful claims; the guilty individuals, wherever they may be, may hide themselves in vain; I will know where to find them, as I have nothing more to lose. Take warning of what I have said." The Provincial then laid this letter before the judges, and demanded that measures should be taken to prevent de Buck from carrying out his threats of murder. The State officials, however, caused the letter to be examined by experts to ascertain whether it was actually that of de Buck, and, as they declared that the writing was his, the arrest of the author thereof was of course made, and a charge against him instituted. De Buck, however, entered a protest against the accusation made against him, and denied in the most vehement way having written the threatening letter, declaring, with a firm voice, "that the same was an artificial imitation of his handwriting, fabricated by the Jesuits, and devised by them, that he might be again condemned to imprisonment, and, perhaps, for life, in order that they should get rid of him for ever." Who, now, was right, he or the sons of Loyola?

The trial was commenced on the 13th May before the Jury Court of Brabant, and all streamed there to be present at it.

For many many years, there had not been a Jury Court case of such interest, as for many many years nothing of such importance had been in question. It did not so much concern the poor Benedict de Buck, as rather the more whether it might be possible in Belgium, the first stronghold of Jesuitism, to get up a case against the Society of Jesus. It was a question as to whether light might be thrown upon the dark secrets of that frightful Society, and the vile manner of its transactions proclaimed abroad. And, wonderful to relate, never was a trial before brought to so brilliant a termination, notwithstanding that the Public Prosecutor, with all the power of his position and all his eloquence, pressed for a verdict of guilty, notwithstanding that the accused, who had been hardly out of prison ever since his sixteenth year, was very badly defended, and the President of the Court, M. de Marbaix, was declared to be, and doubtless not without reason, a zealous partizan of the Jesuits. But on that account two youthful aspirants had undertaken Benedict's defence, and these gentlemen contrived with much intrepidity to lift the veil of secrecy which covered this ugly business, and the sons of Loyola, and especially Father Lhoir, soon stood forth in all their hideous bareness. Finally, no spectator or jurymen, could any longer have doubt about the matter, that Benedict de Buck had been systematically stamped by Father Lhoir as a thief and criminal, in order to enable the latter to carry out the knavery of a stupendous legacy-hunt, and, as after a four days' trial the question was put to the jury, whether Benedict de Buck was guilty of having threatened Bossaert and his companions with murder, the unanimous answer proclaimed was, No.

The sons of Loyola thus completely failed in their complaint, and Benedict de Buck once more obtained his freedom. Indeed, still more, for all now pitied him as the victim of Jesuit intrigue, while the authors of this villainy stood forth as deeply-branded hypocrites and legacy-hunters, for whom no transaction was too rascally, provided anything could be got by it.

It is, alas! but too true that the immense heritage remained theirs, as the testament of the deceased William de Boey could not be called in question.

I have considered it necessary to enter somewhat into detail concerning this trial, as it is well calculated to give us a deep insight into the mode of thought and action of the modern

Jesuits, and as it will be perceived therefrom that the Fathers of our own time have not improved one iota, in relation to their love of money, on those of the 16th and 17th centuries. Even as little have they progressed in relation to purity of manners, as will be seen from the following example, and of such there are still to be found many dozens.

The Order of Jesus was, as we have above seen, denied entrance into the kingdom of Sardinia, and on that account its members smuggled themselves into it under another name. The sons of Loyola, then, under the title of "Ignorantelli," had founded a splendid educational institution in Turin, which was held in such high repute that upwards of 300 young men, all of whom belonged to the upper classes, were educated in it. The Rector, Theoger, was especially distinguished for his piety, amiability, and modesty, and was represented universally as a perfect pattern of a teacher and head of a school. This opinion obtained, also, after the transformation Italy underwent subsequently to the year 1859, and the higher classes continued to hand over their sons to the Jesuits without any mistrust whatever.

Now, it happened that a General of the new Italian army, who had some time previously been sent to Southern Italy in order to fight the Bourbon banditti there, commissioned a friend in Turin to take a look after his son now and then, as he had been for some years attached to the Jesuit Institution; and the friend first began to execute this commission in 1863. Was he not astonished, however, when, in connection with the said Institution, things came under his observation of the existence of which he had not the least conception! Was he not amazed when he became convinced that the heads and professors of the Institution were labouring quite contrary to the intentions of the Government! The friend's wonder, however, reached its culminating point when the son said, in the course of conversation, without any circumlocution whatever, or the slightest colour in his face, "The real robbers are the royal soldiers, and my father is nothing else than a General of robbers, precisely as Victor Emanuel of Piedmont has stolen Italy, like a thief, and not obtained it legitimately."

The other pupils of the institution were found to entertain the same treasonable sentiments, and it was thus quite clear that

their teachers and principal were bringing them up as regular conspirators against their country. The friend could not keep silence about this, and he at once laid the necessary information before the Minister of Justice, who thereupon instituted a commission of inquiry into the matter, and ordered the same to inspect the Institution quite unexpectedly and unannounced. This took place! But, O Lord! what showed itself now? Not only a miserable method of teaching, which condemned every sound elevation of the mind as something to be rejected and heretical, but such a thorough and illimitable moral corruption, that made the hair of the Commissioners actually stand on end.

The Institution was, as a matter of course, closed at once, and a formal trial was commenced against the teachers and principal; but the chief offender, Father Theoger, unfortunately, succeeded in making his escape to France, and several of the other teachers as well as pupils, also disappeared without its being possible to get hold of them again. They were afraid of the punishment that awaited them; and this fear was only too well founded, as such abominable things came to light during the course of the trial that no one could have believed possible. Shameful offences were quite common, and gross crimes were not only openly carried on, but even taught and recommended as salutary. I have no intention of inflicting any further details upon the reader, but will merely add that, as already said, not only was the Institution closed for ever, but justice received satisfaction in the fullest measure, save that two of the most guilty among the guilty escaped through flight.

Upon this, no time was lost in making an investigation regarding the rest of the Jesuit institutions in Italy, several of which, as those at Spoleto, Foligno, and Apisi, were at once closed. Thus, in this respect—that is, as to the question of morality—the Jesuits of the 19th century resemble those of former times; and equally so as regards the question of murder and assassination. But how as to this, indeed? Have I not already proved it to the reader by the history of the Sunderbund war, of which I was obliged to make mention in the history of the extension of the Order of Jesus in Switzerland? And does not this appear even more clearly from the Belgian revolution of 1830, which resulted in the separation of Belgium from Holland,

and which, according to the irrefutable testimony of history, was, at least, in a great degree, the work of the Jesuits and their friends? Was there not evidence of this also in the Polish outbreak of 1872, wherein the Jesuits, secretly, and well disguised, so long incited and instigated strife, until at length blood flowed in streams?

The reader must, indeed, be more or less aware of all these things, and it is merely sufficient to bear them in recollection. Universally, wherever any profit for themselves could be obtained, they preached now, as in former times, murder, assassination, revolution, and rebellion; only they denominated their rebellions and revolutions a work of justice and religion, while they condemned to the lowest hell the democratic insurrections, as the result of disdain for religion, and of profligacy! It is to be well understood, moreover, that it did not everywhere and in all States proceed as far as the latter means—open rebellion and civil war; but it was found necessary to proceed quietly, and creep in, as it were, by stealthy ways. One must, first of all, get a firm hold before being able to commence operations! But as soon as the period arrived that this was accomplished, that a sound footing had been obtained, what a change then took place! Then suddenly the delicate advances, insinuations, and vexing of confessants, no longer sufficed. War, war, war, was the solution; not such war, in truth, where the sword is drawn from the scabbard, as that would not be tolerated by those in authority; but a war with the tongue, a war with the heart, an everlasting contention and strife with all those who were a thorn in the side of the Jesuits, more especially with abominable heretics and anti-Catholics. But of this I will proceed to consider in detail in the next chapter, taking my leave here with these reflections.

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## CHAPTER IV.

THE DEVELOPMENT OF CATHOLICISM INTO JESUITISM ;  
OR, THE JESUIT PAPAL INFALLIBILITY.

IN the foregoing chapter we have spoken of the extraordinary extension of the Order of Jesus during the first half of the 19th century, and have examined the way in which the Society employed its freshly-acquired power, so that all thinking people must consider the proposition to be firmly established that "the Jesuits remain the same as of old." But with this the Fathers are far from being satisfied, their great aim and object being still "the most complete sway over Church and State."

In the Church it has reached as far as this, that the Jesuitical tendency has become sole and unconditional mistress ; that only those make use of the name Catholic who think, believe, and act as the Jesuits wish them to think, believe, and act ; that Jesuitism and Catholicism signify one and the same thing ; in short, that these words are synonymous terms.

In and out of the State, however, all that is antagonistic to Jesuit principles and Jesuit views and teachings has to disappear, even, it may be said, the very State itself. Thus, all the different kingdoms and principalities of Catholic Christendom must have nothing but Jesuit principles, morals, and religion, nothing but Jesuit dictates as to marriage and instruction, nought being left to them but to carry out most humbly Jesuit decrees against anti-Catholics. But, naturally, the Fathers are unable to conceal from themselves that to obtain such power will cost a tolerably severe contest, and they are unwilling to open this struggle thoughtlessly. No ; the strife must not commence till

they are properly armed ; and they may venture to make themselves certain of victory by virtue of their powerful position. Their endeavour, therefore, must first be limited to securing for themselves this requisite authority, and in this respect the first decade of the second half of the 19th century has been exceptionally favourable to them.

The reader remembers, without doubt, the year 1848, and therefore I hardly think it can be necessary for me to enter into details regarding that great Revolution which, commencing in France in February, soon spread throughout Germany, and drew into its sphere of agitation the whole of that country, together with Italy, Austria, and Hungary. Consequently, I merely affirm that the liberty, the waves of which then raged vehemently, was highly detrimental to the Order of Jesus, as in France as well as in Germany, in Turin as well as in Genoa, in Naples as well as in Sicily, in Styria as well as in Tyrol, in the Archduchy of Austria as well as in Bavaria, indeed, even in the States of the Church, its members were expelled and its colleges abolished. Moreover, here and there their houses were even torn down, and the General of their Order, hunted on all sides, at length found no shelter but in Protestant England. It thus appeared that, for the second time, the last hour of the Loyolites had arrived ; but out of apparently the deepest misfortune sprang up, for them, the greatest good luck. The great Revolution from which, it was believed, spiritual as well as material liberty had been secured to the people for all time, was, in the course of 1851 and 1852, suppressed by force by the different Governments ; and then set in such a system of reaction as the Jesuits could not have desired better for themselves. Yes, truly, they had a golden era, throughout an entire decade from this time, as all the Governments believed in their words, that they alone were fit to put down the frightful phantom of Liberalism. Besides, not the Governments alone were on their side, but the nobility also, who hated as the deadliest plague the said Liberalism of modern ideas, by which it had been either actually robbed of its former privileges, or still feared that such would be the case ; and then came to be added the whole of the Episcopate, to whom the national agitations of the years 1848 and 1849 appeared nothing else than a kind of sacrilege. In short, the reaction—that is, the clutching again after the power in vogue in the Middle



Ages, which for some time had been abated—spread all over Europe, and the fat swimming on the top of this new ebullition consisted, as may be well imagined, of members of the Society of Jesus.

Let us look, above all, at Austria, where, on the 31st December 1851, the Government re-created the Constitution of 1849. Did not, then, the Concordat with Rome come to be established through the exertions of the Society mentioned? It was signed on the 18th of August 1855, ratified on the 25th September, and on the 5th November 1855 proclaimed by an Imperial Patent, which completely set aside all formerly acquired freehold properties (also the Josephinum, *i.e.* arising from the Emperor Joseph), being designed to form from this time a barrier against all Liberalism—indeed, against the whole civilised world with their modern ideas. One has only to bear in mind Article I. of that Concordat, according to which the Roman Catholic religion was again endowed with all the legal powers and privileges which it possessed in former times: one has only to scan Article IV., which gives complete freedom to the Bishops to exercise, in their dioceses, all the powers belonging to Government; to appoint, especially, their councillors, representatives, and assistants, entirely according to their discretion, to consecrate anyone whom they pleased, to establish benefices, to found parsonages, to arrange about public prayers, processions, and pilgrimages, as well as to hold provincial synods according to necessity, and to proclaim their resolutions as binding: one has only to examine Article V., by which all education has been placed in the hands of the Catholic clergy, and Article VII., which commands that only Catholic professors and teachers shall be appointed to all gymnasiums and middle-class schools: one has only to peruse Article IX., which delegates to bishops and ordinaries the right to interdict such books as seem to them to be hurtful, which command the Government has to carry out: one has only to cast one's eyes over Article X., which refers to the Ecclesiastical Court all law questions which concern faith, sacraments, and ecclesiastical offices, so that it alone has to decide on matters about marriage and hindrances to marriage: one has only to read Article XI., according to which the bishops are empowered to proceed against and punish all believers within the Catholic Church, as soon as they overstep ecclesiastical

regulations or are suspected thereof: one has only to see the drift of Articles XXVIII. and XXX., by which not only the administration of all church properties, foundations, &c. is delegated to the Bishops, but the privilege of introducing every ecclesiastical order which they think worthy of consideration is conferred on them: one has only, I say, to think of all this, and then ask oneself the question whether in Austria the Catholic Church, or, rather, the Catholic priesthood, has not been endowed with almost greater privileges than it even possessed in the Middle Ages? To its tribunal belong all marriage permissions and prohibitions, especially as regards mixed marriages. All matters connected with burial and exclusion from church are equally under its control, as well as all education from above and below. Before its tribunal all borough legislation has to be submitted, so far, that is, as it may happen to come into collision with canon right and church teaching. How could there be any wonder, then, that Jesuitism flourished, when they were thus allowed complete liberty? We may here bring to recollection what has been stated on this point in the foregoing chapter. Could it be cause for astonishment that, from the beginning to the end of the Imperial States, they possessed themselves of all gymnasiums and lyceums, especially as, according to episcopal permission, they had to undergo no examination for the office of teaching? What wonder, then, that they erected magnificent colleges in towns specially adapted to their purpose, as in Feldkirch, Ragusa, and elsewhere, whereby the State, on the recommendation of the princes of the Church, supported them with large money contributions?

The sons of Loyola found a no less productive field in Prussia, which still, as regards the majority of its inhabitants, adhered to evangelical doctrines, while at one time it might boast of being the advanced post of Protestantism. However, King Friedrich William III. issued strong regulations in respect to the dangerous Society of Jesus, and it was not only forbidden to Prussian subjects to visit the Collegium Germanicum in Rome, or any other Jesuit institution, but an order of the Cabinet also interdicted, under severe punishment, the maintenance of Jesuit missions and other similar inventions for conversion.

It was quite different, however, as regards the Government of Friedrich William IV., who, being an enthusiast for the so-called

Christian State, was from the very beginning favourable to devotion, which proved highly detrimental to the free intellectual development of Prussia. As, however, after the complete suppression of the Revolution of 1848, a thoroughly reactionary Ministry was called to take the head of affairs—I can only remember the names of Radowitz, Manteufel, Raumer, Westphalen, Bethmann-Hollweg, Mühlner—it was then all at an end with the spirit of progress, and, with ultra Lutheranism, ultra-Catholicism as well obtained complete liberty in the Catholic and mixed ecclesiastical provinces. The celebrated Alexander von Humboldt gave to that time the name of “a disordered mischievous economy,” and the honest Bucher complained that “out of Hengstenberg’s study, by means of Gerlach, proceeds everything stupid and obscuring, only hypocrisy and unbelief being sown around, so that one might blame and condemn this dull age even more severely than that of Volney, of unhappy memory.”

In January 1850, there was allowed to the Roman Catholic Church Princes of Prussia, first of all, free intercourse with Rome, then perfectly absolute Church administration, with the accompanying rights of the Archbishop, which were formerly exercised by the Government; further, the nomination of all ecclesiastical appointments, and the publication of all ecclesiastical ordinances; lastly, the admission of religious Orders and religious Societies, as well as their free intercourse with their foreign Superiors and Generals. How the sons of Loyola now rejoiced! They no longer required to creep into Prussia under false names, but had free right to bend their steps in any direction, wherever things seemed favourable for their projects. And, in fact, it is astonishing how rapidly they spread themselves. In Cologne they had already, in a few years, five colleges, and two each in Breslau, Treves, and Münster, and one each in Paderborn and Gnesen. They possessed, too, novitiates in Münster, Bonn, and Gorheim, and the seminaries over which they ruled amounted to a whole hundred. Added to this, also, were their missions, their sodalities, their brotherhoods, their exercises, their conferences in the confessional, and, above all, the unions founded by them, as the Pius union, the Vincentius union, the Bonifacius union, the Boromeo union, the Stephan union, the Severinus union, the Huberts union, and the union of the

Childhood of Jesus, not to forget, as well, the Bachelors' union.

But, what was the chief thing, in addition to the Loyolites, a number of other Orders installed themselves in Prussia, which were all more or less dependent upon them; among these, especially, the school-brethren and school-sisters are to be mentioned, who, everywhere blindly obeying the behests of the Jesuits, endeavoured to get into their hands the instruction of the lower classes; and the result was that, after the lapse of a decade, the Prussian States could number not fewer than 700 cloisters, with at least 6,000 people of the Order.\*

The rest of Germany proved somewhat less fruitful to the Jesuits, not even excluding Bavaria, as in that country they dare not set foot, because the laws forbade this. They, however, could find admittance everywhere as private individuals, as well in Bavaria as in Saxony, and in Würtemberg as in Hanover, while the Bishops allowed them not only to preach but to maintain missions, without the respective Governments seeing any occasion to prevent such proceedings. Further, they succeeded here (as, also, partly in Prussia, where Count Friedrich Leopold von Stolberg and others became converted) in making a number of proselytes, among whom were prominently conspicuous Duke Friedrich Ferdinand von Anhalt-Köthen, Duke Friedrich of Gotha, Prince Löwenstein-Wertheim-Freudenberg, the hereditary prince of Ysenberg-Birstein, the Bavarian Minister Edward von Shenk, the author Friedrich Schlegel, the Crown Princess of Saxony, *née* Princess Wasa, the Countess von Quadt, *née* Countess Schönburg, and the ill-famed Countess Hahn Hahn. With regard to Switzerland, it was much the same as with the smaller German States, since also here they continued to be legally excluded, though now and then they contrived to creep in again, as, for instance, happened in Schwytz (1856-1857) through the evasion of the law. On the other hand, they

\* For instance, the diocese of Cologne had, in the year 1866, ten male and thirty-one female descriptions of cloisters; Treves, six male and twelve female; Paderborn, three male and thirteen female; Münster, four male and fourteen female. Aix-la-Chapelle had one ecclesiastic for every 110 Catholic inhabitants, in Münster for sixty-one, in Treves for fifty-six, and in Paderborn for thirty-three. Is not thereby a colossal increase of the Order in Prussia apparent? An increase which is the more conspicuous, as before 1848 there were only some few cloisters of the Benedictines, Carmelites, and Franciscans.

obtained not inconsiderable power in Geneva, under the dictatorship of Fazy, and not the less did they succeed in converting some influential Swiss. Thus, especially, the Confederation Governor von Mohr in Chur, Councillor von Haller in Bern, and the well-known Hurter in Schaffhausen. Still, what did these few small results signify among the great bulk of the population? France showed a great contrast in this respect to Switzerland, inasmuch as the despotism of Napoleon III. widely opened the doors to the Society of Jesus. He required its services in order to consolidate his new throne, reeking as it did with blood, and on that account they were but too precious to him; so not merely were the restraining ordinances of the year 1828 abolished, but, further, in 1850 the most unlimited liberty to establish and conduct schools and institutions was conceded to the religious associations, and, in particular, to the Society of Jesus. Still more favourable became its position by the marriage of Napoleon III., because a Spanish party was then formed at the Court of Paris, and they were, of course, enthusiastic for everything that recalled Ignatius Loyola to recollection, and cherished, besides, the firm conviction that it would be impossible for the dynasty of Napoleon ever to be touched as long as it had the Society of Jesus on its side.

From this one may draw the conclusion as to how greatly Jesuitism must have been favoured in France under the despotic government of Napoleon III., and as a proof of the extension of the schools and institutions founded by the Society I may mention that the sons of Loyola brought no fewer than fifty-two scholars to the military school of St. Cyr in the year 1868, as well as twenty-seven into the Pyrotechnic school. Precisely the same was the case in Italy, in which several kingdoms and principalities were again open to the sons of Loyola after the suppression of the Revolution of 1848. They founded colleges in Modena, Massaducale, Malta, and, under a different name, even in Turin; they returned, however, especially, in great numbers into the States of the Church, as well as into the kingdom of the two Sicilies, in the latter of which they contrived to completely monopolise for themselves educational affairs. Jesuit teachers alone laboured in all gymnasiums and lyceums, and their colleges in Palermo, Naples, and Reggio, were established with a splendour as if they had received Imperial endowments.

Indeed, they founded in Palermo a kind of academy for knights, in order to get into their hands the whole of the youth of the nobility, and the run on it increased year by year. Lastly, I have still to allude to the third great Roman state, namely, Spain, and affirm that here, also, after the reaction at the Court of the Queen Isabella, sunk as it was in debauchery, had gained the victory, their affairs flourished, proof of which was manifest by their colleges and novitiates in Loyola, Madrid, Aspeytia, and other places, as well as by their seminaries and novitiates in Huesca, Burgos, Avila, and Albacete. But the activity of the Jesuits was not merely confined to Austria, Germany, and the Roman States; they even penetrated into countries where hitherto their entrance had been entirely, or almost so, prohibited, such as, for instance, Holland, England, and North America, but as I have already spoken about the latter in a former chapter, I shall now be very brief respecting it. So far as North America is concerned—I mean the North American Free States, or the Union—the power of the Jesuits increased in the same proportion as the extension of Catholicism, and one in Germany can have no idea at all of the extraordinary growth of this latter religion in the North American Union. Twenty years previously the diocese of Buffalo numbered 20,000 Catholics, with sixteen churches; according to the census of the year 1866, however, there were 200,000 Catholics, with 140 churches and eighteen cloisters. Still more gigantic was their progress in the dioceses of Cincinnati, mostly by emigration from the Palatinate, as there were there, in 1866, upwards of 400,000 Catholics, with 400 churches, and fifty religious Orders. The best proof, however, of the increase of Catholicism in the Union is illustrated in this way, that sixty years ago one single Catholic Bishop was sufficient to meet all requirements; whereas in 1866, there was one Archbishop, or Metropolitan, 54 Bishops, 20,173 Priests, 1,109 seminaries, almost all of them being in the hands of the Jesuits; 2,948 churches, 2,576 provisional chapels, which within a few years would become churches, 93 monks' cloisters, 265 nuns' cloisters, and 12 Catholic academies, to which, of course, the Jesuits gave the tone.

What need, then, can there be for any further evidence? In precisely the same manner has Catholicism increased in England; and when once the Government had, with the approval of

Parliament, decreed Catholic emancipation, it could not be otherwise than that, as a consequence, the adherents of the Papacy obtained still other concessions. Among those I refer especially to the endowment of the Jesuit Catholic College of Maynooth, as well as to the Roman Curie, while religious instruction at English educational institutions, in the case of Catholic pupils, is given by priests of their own religion. A third concession will prove to be still more lasting, although perhaps less patent, namely, that, in addition to the Colleges of Stonyhurst and Hoddenhouse, the sons of Loyola have been allowed to found other settlements, as of this they have made the most extensive use. But the members of the Society of Jesus gained the greatest advantage from the circumstance that, by their constant exertions, they succeeded in bringing over again to the Papacy a number of Englishmen of rank, especially professors and spiritual advisers who had hitherto belonged to the English High Church, the ritual of which, as well as its ceremonial, bears much resemblance to that of Catholicism, and, from this, they even became intoxicated so much as to come to the conclusion that, in the course of a few decades, or, perhaps, a century, a complete end will be made to the English defection to Protestantism under Henry VIII. Professors Pusey, Newman, Palmer, Keble, and Hook, of the University of Oxford, initiated this state of matters through their ogling with Catholicism, which afterwards got the name of Puseyism; but Vice-Chancellor Newman led the way to the complete passing over to Rome, and, in a short time, no fewer than 867 men of great consideration followed his example, among whom were some very wealthy Peers, as the Marquis of Bute and others, with 243 who had hitherto been Protestant clergymen.

Was it, then, to be wondered at that the Pope of Rome at that time, Pius IX., was highly jubilant; and, indeed, dared, on the strength of this great victory, to re-establish a Papal hierarchy in England, through a special Bull of September 1850? Sure enough, he founded twelve bishoprics, over which he placed one archbishop; first, Cardinal Wiseman, and after his death the still more Popish Manning; and all this the English Government allowed, without offering any energetic opposition thereto.

I have now, lastly, to report upon the powerful influence exercised by the Jesuits in Holland. From this almost purely

Protestant country, they had been completely excluded after the contest about the Infallibility, and the few Catholics living there did not make the slightest complaint about the matter. Matters, however, underwent a complete change in the year 1848, when the principles of thorough religious liberty became law, for now the sons of Loyola were free to make entry without hindrance. Here, as in England, they induced the Pope to re-establish a Catholic hierarchy, and further, in the year 1853, to found four bishoprics, with one archbishopric. They then managed to get into their hands educational matters throughout all the Catholic parts of the country, and they also succeeded in this respect in most of the towns. As, however, their colleges, especially that of Amsterdam, began to flourish, their chief aim was how to obtain, together with the Catholic pupils, Protestants also, with, of course, no other object than to convert them; and here, also, they were able to boast of no small result. The opposition, however, with which they had to contend was not by any means inconsiderable, and this increased in proportion as they gained ground. Indeed, they had two enemies to deal with at the same time, each of whom exerted itself to the utmost, namely, first of all, the Protestants, who formed the large majority of the population; and then the old Catholics or Jansenists, who maintained themselves in considerable numbers in Utrecht, Haarlem, Deventer, and Amersfoort. This was, indeed, a very severe contest, but the sons of Loyola knew how to take up their new position, and to attack their enemies in the severest language in two journals founded by the Society, viz. the *Catholic* and the *Tyd*.

Their progress in Holland, nevertheless, suffered severely in these combats, as not only the Protestants of Holland, but also the Catholics became enlightened, through the same, as to the true character of Jesuitism, and did not allow themselves to be so easily deceived by their tricks and artifices as was the case in other countries. The prominent influence of the sons of Loyola which, in the first decade of the second half of our century, they contrived to exercise, was, as the reader has no doubt convinced himself, very important, and extended itself, indeed, in four different directions.

First of all, they possessed immense influence on the masses, which they understood how to command by means of their



missions, sodalities, &c. &c., the particulars regarding which have been explained in the foregoing chapter. In the second place, the Governments adhered to them, even in the case of the most Protestant States, because these latter were of opinion that in them was to be found the best remedy against the plague of Liberalism and of modern ideas. Thirdly, they for the most part won for themselves the nobility, as, with the aid of the black cohort, who strove to bring matters back to what they were during the Middle Ages, it hoped to regain its lost position, and, moreover, its sons were brought up in their colleges. Fourthly, and lastly, all the reigning bishops and princes of the Church saw only through purely Jesuit spectacles, and, indeed, simply on this account, that from their earliest infancy most of them had received their instruction and education in the schools of the sons of Loyola. Indeed, the said Fathers had, ever since their re-establishment, looked upon it as their first aim and object to labour in the colleges, as well as in the universities of the countries, and never to desist until they had gained possession of the whole of that class of theologians from which it was usual to select the bishops. The results were really the most splendid that can be imagined, as, up to the year 1866, hardly a single opponent of Jesuitism sat upon a bishop's throne. Indeed, it had come even so far as this, that the non-Jesuitical bishops formed an expiring generation, and almost every occupant of a bishopric considered it his highest aim to distinguish himself by his support of Jesuit tendencies in all his colleges.\* Again, almost every prince of the Church maintained a Jesuit as spiritual adviser—as, for instance, the Bishop of Paderborn, Father Roh—and this spiritual adviser, in any matter, whether religious, ecclesiastic, or political, about which there could be the slightest doubt, invariably gave his decision, which was regarded as final. I repeat, therefore, that the powerful influence which the sons of

\* Of those bishops and archbishops who came forward as friends of the Jesuits, the reader must allow me to furnish him with some few names in alphabetical order:—The Archbishop Cardinal Bonnechose, of Rouen; the Bishop Canossa, of Verona; the Archbishop Cullen, of Dublin; the Bishop Deschamps, of Malines; Dr. Fessler, Bishop of St. Pölten; Bishop Gasser, of Brizen; Bishop Martin, of Paderborn; Bishop Leonhard, of Eichstätt; Bishop Wermillod, of Geneva; Archbishop Manning, of Westminster; Bishop Plantier, of Nîmes; Bishop Pie, of Poitiers; Cardinal Reisach, of Vienna; Bishop Reynier, of Cambrai; Bishop Riccabona, of Trient; Bishop Genestrey, of Ratisbonne; and Archbishop Tarnocz, of Salzburg.

Loyola, at the beginning of the second half of our century, partly won, and partly surreptitiously obtained, was magnificent; but it attained its highest summit when the Fathers succeeded, as I have already shortly indicated in a preceding chapter, in gaining such an ascendancy over the reigning Pope as had never before been witnessed. When Gregory XVI. died, on 1st June, 1846, to the great delight of the Romans, the election of a new Pope for a long time fluctuated between Gregory's secretary and confidential companion, Cardinal Lambruschini, and the affable and benovolent Cardinal Count Mastai Ferretti, from Sinigaglia; but on the 16th June the name of the latter came almost unanimously forth from the urn, and he thereupon succeeded, under the name of Pius IX.

The enthusiasm of the Romans was immense, as a complete new era of government was expected to be inaugurated by this Pope, an entire breaking through of the former Papal system. In fact, at the commencement Pius IX. began his reforms well, with a political amnesty, which made him very popular, as he gave their liberty to more than 6,000 prisoners. But what a contrast did his "ecclesiastical" proceedings, especially his Encyclica (circular-letter to the Bishops) of the 9th November 1846, no less than his Allocution of 17th December, 1847, form to his political decrees! In both the above-mentioned edicts he showed himself to be as thoroughly Papal as any of his predecessors, as he thundered therein not only against Bible Societies, as well as against the frightful system of religious indifference and the perverting influence of philosophical teaching, but he no less condemned all those who believed that they might be saved out of the pale of the Catholic Church, and especially those who made bold to interpret the word of God according to their own notion, while God had set up a living authority (the Pope) who taught the true meaning of His heavenly revelations and ordered all disputes in matters of faith and morality by his infallible judgment.

From this, the conclusion may be drawn that it was impossible for the new Pope to be in earnest when he favoured measures of freedom in the secular government of the States of the Church, and the apprehensions on this score were soon to be realised. Everything that the Pope ordained was merely designed for a purpose, being calculated to appease the Romans

in order that they might not also be seized with the revolutionary spirit which shook the half of the world in 1848; and it was apparent that the whole of these reforms would be again swept away as soon as the dangers of revolution had somewhat subsided. The consequence of this was that the Romans urged the Pope to take his measures in earnest, and to finish the structure of civil liberty. Pius IX. sought afresh to temporize; but the Romans, who could no longer be restrained, now made short work of it, and in March 1848 not only drew up for themselves a constitution of their own, but also expelled the Jesuits at the end of a month, as it was known that they strongly influenced the Pope. Thereupon an end was quickly put to the affection and concord existing between His Holiness and the Romans; and, finally, Pius IX. saw it to be necessary, as one tumult in Rome followed another, to seek his safety in flight, with the help of the Bavarian Ambassador. He succeeded in effecting this, well disguised, during the night of the 24th-25th November, and reached the Neapolitan fortress of Gaeta, to which he had directed his steps; he thereupon, on the 1st January 1849, launched his lightning of excommunication against Rome. He made sure that the inhabitants of the Eternal City would now immediately crawl again towards the Cross, but they simply replied that they had deposed the Pope, as secular ruler of the States of the Church, and declared Rome a Republic. This was, indeed, a severe blow; but still Pius IX. knew how to help himself, and entreated the intervention of the President of the French Republic, the future Emperor Napoleon. Napoleon was only too ready to help, as he had good grounds for winning over the Pope for himself, and he accordingly sent an army against Rome. The Romans, however, under the lead of Garibaldi, bravely defended themselves, and the French did not succeed till July 1849, in taking the city by storm.

The Pope was then again Sovereign of the States of the Church, and there was nothing in the way to prevent his return to Rome, as the French bayonets were there. Still, he did not make his entry into the Eternal City till April 1850, and even then the Romans received him with coldness and indifference. They thoroughly hated him, because he had turned out quite differently from what was originally expected. He now, however, showed himself in his true colours, and surrounded

himself with only those men who prompted him to act even more Popishly than his predecessor Gregory. That these men were no other than the sons of Loyola, or such as had been educated by them, can the reader have any doubt? and Pius IX. at once proved this to be the case by the first decree which, as Pope, he caused to be issued after his return to Rome. What were the Jesuits about? First the canonization of their brother in faith, Peter Claver, as also of John de Britto. After these two, then followed Andrew Bobola, as well as the noted Peter Canisius; and, lastly, there was added the canonization of the Japanese martyrs, of whom the reader has been already made acquainted. The Jesuits, then, were those who governed the Pope after his return from Gaeta, and, besides them, there were only such Cardinals as had sworn entirely to their creed, headed by the Secretary of State, Antonelli. But what were the names of these Jesuits? To commence, I must bring forward, in the first rank, the General of the Society of Jesus, the aged Belgian Beckz, of whom I have already spoken; then the Italians Mignardi, who was taken by Pius IX. as Father Confessor, Piccirillo, Perrone, and Curli; further, the Belgians Franzelin and de Bucq; lastly, the Germans Schrader and Kleutgen. All of these became quite indispensable to the Pope, more especially the two first named; and, on the other hand, they took good care that no "outsider," that is, no one, either lay or priest, who had not sworn allegiance to their banner, should approach his presence, even for a short time. Only in their atmosphere was His Holiness allowed to breathe, only through their spectacles to see, and only with their ears and mouths to hear and learn what was going on in the world.

Formerly, indeed, in previous centuries, this had by no means been the case; but other Orders, especially the Augustines, Carmelites, Minorites, and Dominicans, had their influence, and not infrequently, indeed, strove for supremacy with the sons of Loyola. The whole of these Orders were now at a discount in Rome, and the Jesuitically-disposed Pope merely allowed them to vegetate, so to speak. Indeed, in order that the only single one of them that still had any influence should be set aside, to wit, the Dominicans, they were induced to select as their General the Frenchman Jandel, who was entirely for the Jesuits and never laid any obstacle in their way. As regards the Orders

which had sprung up in modern times, such as Redemptionists and Liguorians, from the commencement they had been nothing else than under-strappers of the Jesuits, preparing the way for the latter, and taking their cue from them. What became, then, of anyone in Rome who dared to oppose the all-powerful will of the Jesuits?

A highly-esteemed savant and theologian, the Cardinal Guidi, once tried, in an audience which he had solicited of the Pope, to furnish him with the pure wine of honest advice. But what was the consequence? He was from that hour, and for ever afterwards, denied access to His Holiness, and remained isolated among his colleagues. How now did the Jesuits profit from the potent influence that they had won over the Pope? In order not to tire the reader, I will mention from a few instances only the most weighty.

In the first place, the sons of Loyola, from the beginning of the year 1866, undertook the task of editing the *Civiltà Cattolica* which is the official organ of the reigning Pope. In his Brief of the 12th February 1866, Pius IX. declared that this journal—which, coupled with its primary duty of defending the Catholic religion, was expressly destined to teach and disseminate abroad the authority and power of the Roman See—should henceforth be written and published by a proper college, consisting of men nominated by the Jesuit chief,\* and General Beckz, in pursuance of the Brief, at once named Fathers Piccirillo and Perrone as editors. And it is a fact that these two latter were, from this time forward, regularly accorded audiences of the Holy Father, precisely in the same way as the Secretaries of State and Ministers, not less seldom than once a week, indeed, but rather oftener. It is also, further, a fact that the editors in such audiences laid before the Pope the manuscripts destined for the next numbers; that the Pope read over the same, and sent them on to the Chancellory of State accompanied with remarks, according as he found them, or, as was almost always the case, unaltered. Finally, it is a fact that the *Civiltà* declared, in conspicuous type:—

“We (that is, the editors) are not the authors of the Papal

\* The Pope devoted forthwith a special building for the editorial office, as well as considerable salaries, which rendered the editors independent of all earthly anxieties.

thoughts, and it is not by our inspirations that Pius IX. speaks and acts; but we are certainly the true echo of the Holy See."

What is meant by this, then? Nothing else but that the Pope himself admits that the ideas which are from time to time published in the *Civiltà* are his own, and, therefore, that all the many utterances of the Jesuits in the *Civiltà*, inimical to modern States and the entire modern civilisation, are nothing other than the expression of the innermost conviction of Pope Pius IX. Nothing else than that the present Popedom, or, to express myself more clearly, the present Papal Catholicism, is entirely identical with Jesuitism, that is, with the teaching and faith of the sons of Loyola. I may further remark that, for the completion of the editorial department of the *Civiltà Cattolica*, the final revision of the journal in question is looked after by Monsignor (Prelate) Marini; that, moreover, this prelate is a special confidant of the Cardinal Secretary of State, Antonelli, and, consequently, that no essential alterations as to the tendency of the articles need be feared at his hands.

The second thing I have to state is this—that the Jesuits brought about that the Pope should promulgate, as his own act, without consulting his Council, the Immaculate Conception of the Virgin Mary, in order to send it out into the world as a feeler to ascertain how far the power of the Pope might reach. On this matter the Jesuit Clement Schrader thus expresses himself verbatim in his pamphlet *Pius IX. as Pope and King*. Vienna, 1865:

"This is quite a peculiar act of the Pontificate of Pius IX., seeing that no foregoing Pontificate had enunciated it; while the Pope has defined this dogma on his own responsibility, and in the plenitude of his power, and without the co-operation of his Council; and this independent definition of a dogma determines at the same time—not expressly or formally, it is true, but, nevertheless, undoubtedly and as a matter of fact—another dogmatical decision, namely the settlement of the mooted point as to whether the Pope can be, in his own person, infallible, or whether he can only lay claim to infallibility at the head of his Council. Pius IX. has, it is true, not theoretically, by the Act of 8th December 1854, defined this infallibility on the part of the Pope, but practically he has claimed it."

Is it not, then, to be clearly seen that the dogmatising of the

Immaculate Conception of Mary could be nothing else than a feeler to ascertain how far the Pope might go? But, to proceed to the fact itself, not a single word was ever heard in the first eight centuries of the Christian era about an Immaculate Conception of the Mother of Jesus Christ, although Mary-worship had been promulgated at a very early period. The first who alluded thereto was, indeed, the Abbot of Corbie, Paschasius Radbertus, who lived at the beginning of the 9th century; but all better-instructed theologians opposed him in this view. At length it pleased some of the canons at Lyons, in the 12th century, to celebrate a special festival in honour of the Immaculate Conception of Mary, and forthwith, here and there, the thing met with imitation. However, two centuries later, the celebrated Dominican, Thomas d'Aquino, attacked the new dogma as heretical on truly annihilating grounds; and the matter might be considered as settled.

Such was not the case, however, for the Franciscan Duns Scotus took up the matter in the strongest manner possible; and from that time arose a violent contention between the Dominicans and Franciscans respecting the said dogma. The latter fought like men for the Immaculate Conception, while the former were as violently opposed to it; a definite decision, however, was never brought about, and only this was clearly evident, that men of the greatest consequence, and most learned and most clear-sighted as theologians, rejected the dogma. The Jesuits, however, ranged themselves on the side of Mary, as from the commencement they had carried the worship of the Virgin to the greatest height; thus, the old battle was renewed. With this difference, however, that the enlightened among theologians declared the whole question to be so laughable that it was not really worth the trouble of breaking lance about it. Thus no Pope dared to come to a decision on the matter, not even those most favourably disposed to the Jesuits; the same was the case as regards the Council of Trent, although there the sons of Loyola were almost omnipotent.

Pius IX., on the contrary—and from this we may see how completely the Society of Jesus governed him—in one of his Encyclicas, even as early as 2nd February, 1849, intimated to the Catholic bishops that he had the intention of appointing a Special Commission for the determination of the question regarding

the immaculate conception of Mary, and requested them to communicate their views on the subject to him as soon as possible. One could, indeed, see from the Encylica itself, how much the matter lay at his heart, as he stated, verbatim, therein, "That, from the days of his childhood, nothing lay nearer his heart than to reverence the ever-blessed Virgin Mary with peculiar piety and devotion, combined with the most intense and heartfelt love, and to accomplish everything that might tend to the promotion of her glory and public worship."

Well, the Commission was appointed, and the Pope nominated as President of the same the celebrated theologian Dr. Passaglia, the trusted confidant of the Jesuits. One may draw a conclusion from this as to what was the opinion of the remaining members of the Commission; but, nevertheless, their consultations lasted fully three years, and Passaglia did not publish his report till December 1853. The contents of the same proved all the more delightful, as the sentence of the Commission ran as follows: "That to the Virgin Mary, on account of her transcendent holiness and grace, which, as above everything human, cannot naturally be quite clearly propounded, must be ascribed an immaculate conception, free from all original sin, founded on Scripture, tradition, and public worship as conducted up to the present time."

The bishops, for the most part, voted as assenting to this,\* and Pius IX., in his joy on this occasion, wrote from Rome, on 1st August 1854, summoning a Council for the purpose of confirming the projected dogma. The Council, however, never took place, so far as deliberation was concerned, as only 192 prelates appeared; these, for the most part, indeed, were Italian, who, besides, dropped in so slowly, that the first meeting of the same was not held until the 20th November 1854. The Pope, some days later, then laid the dogma before them, and their consent to it was given on the 4th December, without any proper consultation and discussion having taken place. Thereupon, Pius IX. held a solemn High

\* Not fewer than 440 prelates, as one man, acquiesced in this Popish hobby, as one which might be well carried out without harm, and only thirty-two were of opinion that it would be better to let it alone, in order not to arouse the laughter of the times. Among the latter, however, were to be found some voices of great weight, as that of Archbishop Sibour in Paris, the Cardinal Bishop of Breslau, Dievenbrock, and the Archbishop Schwarzenberg of Salzburg.



Mass, on the 8th December, in the Sistine Chapel; placed a diadem of brilliants on the image of Mary; and issued the famous Bull, *Ineffabilis Deus*, in which the Pope, "By virtue of his own authority, as also by virtue of the authority of Jesus, and of the Apostles Peter and Paul," declared "that the dogma which teaches that Mary, from the first moment of her conception, by an especial grace and privilege of God, was preserved free from all taint of original sin, was manifested by God, and must, therefore, be firmly and constantly believed by all the faithful."

Thus, finally, was the great end attained for which the Jesuits so long contended, and the unheard-of doctrine "of the Immaculate Conception of the Virgin Mary," from this time forward was to be held as "dogma."

How, then, was the new creed received by Christendom? Most men remained perfectly indifferent about the matter, as if the thing did not at all concern them; those of cultivation, however, openly derided and mocked at the circumstance of a new goddess being added to the Christian heaven. But those of the clergy came worst off who dared to express openly their displeasure at the new article of faith, as they were forthwith excommunicated by the Pope, and no Government dared to take action against His Holiness. It was highly disgusting, however, that the old Catholics or Jansenist Bishops of Holland—who issued a pastoral letter of their own against the dogma, wherein they proved in the clearest possible way that the same was taught neither by Holy Scripture nor yet by tradition, and on that account called down also excommunication upon themselves—were unable by any possibility to be reached by the arm of the Holy Father in Rome. But even in this case, the Jesuits carried off the victory by means of a further letter, in which Pius IX. compromised himself still more deeply.

In the summer of 1859, the Franco-Italian war against Austria began—the reader doubtless remembers the famous New Year's speech which Napoleon III. made to the Austrian Ambassador, Von Hübner—without the Roman Curie being able to prevent it; and as, in consequence of the same, the Austrians withdrew from the Papal provinces occupied by them in June (on June 13th from Bologna), those provinces rose in a body in order that they might be included in the new kingdom of Italy. There could be no wonder about this, as there

did not exist, perhaps, at that time, a worse-governed kingdom in the whole world than the States of the Church, and the subjects of the Pope would on that account long before have shaken off the yoke, had they not been restrained by force, partly as regards the Austrians (in the Romagna), partly by the French in Rome and its neighbourhood, and, again, partly by means of the mercenary troops in the remaining States of the Church.

Well, then, the Austrians withdrew from Romagna, and the very next day, as has been mentioned, the populace rose. In vain did the mercenary Papal troops fight against them, and the most cruel atrocities occur in Perugia. In vain did the Pope issue one allocution after another, wherein he testified that the possession of the Pope's temporal power was a necessity for him, and consequently that the annexation of Romagna to the kingdom of Italy must be punished as a robbery of the Church. The Romagnians had no desire to return under the scourging rod of the Holy Father, and none of the foreign Powers were at all disposed to proceed by force against them. On the contrary, Napoleon III., in a letter dated 31st December 1859, demanded the renunciation of Romagna by the Pope, receiving in return a guarantee for the remainder of his possessions.

What now could be done? Prudence counselled submission, in order most probably not to lose still more, or, indeed, perhaps all. The Jesuits, however, in whose hands the Holy Father found himself, urged him to the contrary, and thus, then, the French Emperor got "*Non possumus*" for his answer, a reply which has since become famous. So Pius IX., indeed, exclaimed, "*Non possumus*"—the signification being "We cannot"—"as he could not relinquish what did not belong to him but to all Catholics." "Nay, rather," added he, "by such abdication he would infringe his oath, his preferments, his rights, and not merely encourage disturbance in the remaining provinces, but also injure the rights of all Christian princes."

At the same time as this answer was despatched to Rome, all means were put into operation in order to give expression to the same, and the whole Catholic Episcopate were required to lodge a protest "against a deed of violence by which the most ancient possession was attacked, and all legitimate rights and relations were put in question." Besides, collections were every-

where made for the distressed Pope (these moneys, called "Peter's Pence," were highly welcome to the Roman Curie, and on this account they have never been discontinued), and addresses, preachings, meetings, public prayers, and everything else of the kind that was humanly possible were instituted. Indeed, even a Protestant King of Prussia projected to draw the sword for the Pope, and thereby to win for himself his high blessing! Unfortunately, nevertheless, all this proved fruitless, and Romagna was and remains lost. The Jesuits urged the Pope to the adoption of the *ultima ratio*, the last means that remained at his command, namely, the excommunication of the robbers of Romagna, and, under date the 26th March 1860, appeared the Bull of Excommunication referring thereto:—

"All those who had been guilty of rebellion, invasion, usurpation, and other similar attempts, were by the same excommunicated; further, all their instigators, accomplices, advisers, and followers, as well as all those who had favoured or facilitated these deeds of violence; finally, all who, although even sons of the Church, had arrived at such a pitch of effrontery that they continually asseverated their respect and devotion for the Church, while they still attacked its secular power and despised its authority."

It was clearly evident whom the Pope meant, although he mentioned no name, and King Victor Emanuel knew very well who it was. His army and the whole of his people also knew; but did this give rise to an insurrection against him? O Lord, no; but, on the contrary, it increased his popularity, while, on the other hand, the Holy Father in Rome became an object of derision among almost all Italians. Still more, not a single one of the foreign potentates broke off friendly relations with the King of Italy on account of this Bull of Excommunication, and thus the Papal curse completely failed in its object. As a matter of course, mankind now stood on quite a different footing as regards civilisation than in the times of Gregory VII. or Innocent III., and it was only the Loyolite surrounding of the Pope that had flattered itself with the hope that one could possibly conjure up again the Middle Ages. When, however, even the *ultima ratio* vanished in sand, entirely disregarded, the rage of the Jesuits worked itself up to stark madness, and they proceeded, with the sanction of the Pope, to collect

a mighty army with which they hoped to defeat the troops of Victor Emanuel. These, indeed, were actually forthcoming, but what was to be expected of them? It is true that nothing could be advanced against old General Lamoricière, the leader selected, schooled as he had been in Africa; but what concerning the army itself? A small minority consisted of Austrian soldiers on furlough, or discharged from the service, as well as French enthusiasts; but the great bulk was formed of drunken Irishmen and vagabonds of all nations. It may, therefore, be easily imagined that the Papal army, on coming into collision with the troops of Victor Emanuel, was ignominiously defeated, and the inevitable consequence was that, after the storming of Ancona, both Umbria and the Marches were lost to the Pope.

Even Rome itself, indeed, would have been conquered, had it not been that Napoleon III. had protected the Eternal City by a French corps, and by brute force hindered the entrance of Garibaldi.

It may, then, be seen that the Pope did not act wisely during the war in allowing the Jesuits to drive him to throw down the gauntlet to the King of Italy, and it might have been thought that in consequence of this a rupture would have taken place between him and the Jesuits. But precisely the reverse was the case, and Pius IX. was always more and more encircled by the latter, indeed, they finally drove him to adopt a measure which, for disregard of all moderation, had never hitherto been surpassed. Forsooth, he issued an Encyclica, on the 8th December 1864, which condemned the entire civilisation of the times; and we cannot do better than reproduce here the principal heads of this colossal curse of excommunication.

Pius IX. says in his circular letter to the Catholic bishops: "Our predecessors, and the defenders and supporters of the Sublime Catholic religion, as well as of truth and justice, had much at heart, not less than the supreme care over the welfare of souls, the discovery and condemnation, in their most wise pastoral letters, of all erroneous teaching and mistaken opinions, which had given rise to the most violent storm, in resistance to our divine faith, to the teaching of the Catholic Church, to decorum in manners, and to the everlasting welfare of the souls of mankind and desolated the Church and State in a manner most deeply to be deplored. On this account, therefore, these

our predecessors have invariably, with most apostolic vigour, offered continual resistance and opposition to the flagitious machinations of godless men, who, frothing up in ebullition their peculiar aberrations like the floods of the raging sea, promised liberty while they themselves continued slaves of corruption, and, with deceitful views and highly injurious writings, took pains to subvert the principles of the Catholic religion and of the social system, to eradicate every virtue and privilege, to ruin all souls and hearts, to cause the unwary, and especially the inexperienced youth, to deviate from due propriety in manners, to destroy them miserably, to draw them into the snares of error, and, finally, to tear them away from the bosom of the Catholic Church."

After some intermediate observations, Pius IX. thus continues :—

"In a like manner have we also raised our voice, as, to the great pain and disquiet of our soul, we perceive the hideous storm roused up by so many infamous and wicked opinions, and the highly prejudicial and never sufficiently to be deplored damage, which overwhelms the Christian people with such a flood of errors. We, too, have raised our voice by virtue of our apostolic office, and, by means of several Encyclical Briefs which we have issued, the allocutions we have delivered in the Consistory, and by other apostolical writings, have condemned the conspicuous errors of our truly melancholy times, have aroused your most careful episcopal vigilance, and reminded and warned, over and over again, all children of the Catholic Church, so dear to us, that they should utterly abhor and haply avoid this frightful pestilence. Although, however, we have never omitted to prohibit and reprobate these leading errors, nevertheless, the well-being of the Catholic Church, no less than the salvation of souls committed by God to our care, and the matters connected with the social system itself, settled by us, demand that we should afresh incite your pastoral solicitude towards the combating of other not less worthless opinions, which spring up from these errors as from wells."

"For you well know, reverend brethren," it goes on, "that there are not a few in this present time who, while they apply to the social system the absurd and godless principle of naturalism, dare to teach that the best organisation of States and of

social progress strictly demands that human society should be constituted and regulated irrespective altogether of religion, just as if, indeed, this latter had no existence at all. As a sequence, indeed, to this completely false idea of the management of society, they are not intimidated from encouraging that erroneous view, detrimental alike in the highest degree to the Catholic Church as well as to the welfare of souls, that this liberty of conscience and of religion should be the peculiar right of every one, which the law in all well-conducted communities must express and regulate, and that a title to that liberty, unlimited by any ecclesiastical or secular authority, may rest with the citizens, in virtue of which they may be enabled, openly and before all, to make known and declare any thoughts agreeable to them, either orally or through the press, or in any other manner whatever. And they exclaim, in a truly godless manner, 'Let all right be withdrawn from the citizens and the Church, in virtue of which they dare to dispense alms for the sake of charity, and let the law be abolished by which, on certain days, manual labour is prohibited for the sake of God's service'; while they set forth most deceitfully that the said right and the said law are opposed to the principles of good popular government. And, not content with banishing religion from society in general, they desire to exclude it also even from families. For, while these people recognise and teach the highly injurious errors of communism and socialism, they affirm that the domestic community, or the family, borrows the whole groundwork of its existence merely from civil right, and that, even on that account, all rights of fathers over their children, and particularly the right of caring for the education and instruction of the same, are derived from, and depend on, the secular laws.

"With these nefarious opinions and machinations, those highly deceitful men proceed to contend that the wholesome teaching and influence of the Catholic Church should be completely banished from the education and instruction of youth, so that the tender and pliable minds of the young are lamentably infected and ruined by these injurious errors of teaching. On that account, they never cease, in the most disgraceful manner, to plague the monkish and secular clergy, from whom, as the most brilliant memorials of history can testify, the Christian, civil, and scientific communities derive such great

advantages ; and reiterate that this same clergy as an enemy, as it were, to useful progress and civilisation, should be relieved from all charge and concern as to the instruction and education of youth. Others, with special effrontery, dare to subjugate the highest authority derived from the Church, and this apostolic See of Christ, the Lord, to the caprice of secular authority, and to deny to the Apostolic See all right to have any control in regard to matters appertaining to external order. Then, they are not ashamed to affirm that the laws of the Church are not binding to the conscience, except when they are recognised by the secular power ; that the acts and decrees of the Popes of Rome require the sanction and approbation, or, at all events, the acquiescence of the secular power ; that the excommunications launched by the Popes of Rome against those who attack and arrogate to themselves the privileges and possessions of the Church, depend upon a confusion of ecclesiastical with civil and political order ; that the Church has no business to determine what the conscience of believers may fix, in relation to practice in secular matters ; finally, that the Church has no right to proceed against the transgressors of their laws with secular punishments. And they do not blush to recognise publicly, before all the world, the judgment and principles of heresy, out of which, already, so many perverted opinions and errors have arisen. Then, they always continue to affirm that the power of the Church, in virtue of Divine right, has no effect independent of the secular power, and that this separation and independence cannot be conceded without the Church seizing and arrogating to itself the essential rights of the secular power. We cannot, finally, pass over in silence the audacity of those who set up the affirmation that those sentences and decrees of the Apostolic See, which do not relate to the dogmas of faith and morality, may be denied assent and obedience, without sin and without any endangerment whatever to the Catholic confession. In such great perversity of degenerate opinions we have considered it our apostolic duty, and, on account of our great solioitude concerning the souls which are entrusted to us by God, we believe ourselves to be afresh constrained to raise our voice, and for this reason we reprobate, forbid, and condemn, in virtue of our apostolic authority, all and every one of the wicked opinions and teachings individually specified in this document,

and we will and command that the same shall be held as reprobated, forbidden, and condemned by all children of the Catholic Church."

Thus the Pope wrote to all the Catholic Bishops of Christendom, and his Encyclica concludes with these words: "Given at Rome, by the Holy Peter, on the 8th December 1864, in the tenth year after the dogmatic declaration of the Immaculate Conception of the Mother of God and Virgin Mary, in the 19th year of our Pontificate. Pius IX."

But now, however, we ask, "What are the individual wicked opinions and teachings which the Pope reprobated, forbade, and condemned?" The Papal list, or syllabus, enumerates eighty, and we would wish to reproduce the whole thereof, but to do so would take up a great deal too much space, and we must, therefore, be content with making a selection of them.

Thus reprobated, forbidden, and condemned is the proposition (No. 8 of the Syllabus): "Human reason is the only arbitrator concerning what is true and false, good or bad; it is even itself law, and is, with its natural powers, adequate to care for the benefit of men and peoples."

Reprobated, forbidden, and condemned is the proposition (No. 7 of the Syllabus): "The prophecies and miracles reported and related in the Holy Scriptures are inventions of the poet, and the mysteries of Christian belief are merely the result of philosophical investigations, and in the books of the two Testaments are contained mythical inventions, and Jesus Christ Himself is a mythical fiction."

Reprobated, forbidden, and condemned is the proposition (No. 11 of the Syllabus): "The Church must not only not proceed inimically against philosophy, but she must also tolerate the errors of the same and leave it even to itself to correct them."

Reprobated, forbidden, and condemned is the proposition No. 15 of the Syllabus): "Every man, guided by the light of reason, is free to adopt and to recognise whatever religion he considers to be the true one."

Reprobated, forbidden, and condemned is the proposition (No. 16 of the Syllabus): "By the exercise of any religion whatsoever men may find the way to eternal salvation and attain eternal happiness."



Reprobated, forbidden, and condemned is the proposition (No. 18 of the Syllabus): "Protestantism is nothing more than another form of the same true Christian religion, and one may be in it as acceptable to God as in the Catholic Church."

Reprobated, forbidden, and condemned is the proposition (No. 21 of the Syllabus): "The Church has not the power to establish the dogma that the religion of the Catholic Church is the only true religion."

Reprobated, forbidden, and condemned is the proposition (No. 24 of the Syllabus): "The Church has not the power to employ external pressure or any direct or indirect temporal force."

Reprobated, forbidden, and condemned is the proposition (No. 29 of the Syllabus): "Pardons granted by the Pope must be looked upon as of no use, unless sanctioned by the State government."

Reprobated, forbidden, and condemned is the proposition (No. 31 of the Syllabus): "Ecclesiastical jurisdiction, in civil as well as criminal matters, in which ecclesiastics are concerned, is completely abolished, without reference even to the Holy See."

Reprobated, forbidden, and condemned is the proposition (No. 36 of the Syllabus): "The decision of a national council admits of no further discussion, and every State government can bring a matter to a decision."

Reprobated, forbidden, and condemned is proposition (No. 38 of the Syllabus): "The separation of the Church into eastern and western has contributed to the exaggerated pretensions of the Popes of Rome." (With the condemnation of this proposition the Pope would annul history).

Reprobated, forbidden, and condemned is the proposition (No. 45 of the Syllabus): "The whole guidance of the public schools in which the youth of a Christian State is educated may and must be conformable to the State control (with the exception of episcopal seminaries under certain conditions), and truly so, since no right whatever can be recognised whereby any other authority can interfere in regard to school discipline, the regulation of the studies, the granting of degrees, and the choice of teachers."

Reprobated, forbidden, and condemned is the proposition (No. 47 of the Syllabus): "The best State regulation demands that the schools, which are accessible to all classes of the people equally, as well as the public institutions which are intended for

higher instruction, should be exempt from all authority, guidance, and interference on the part of the Church, and be superintended by the secular powers, according to the will of the Governments, and according to the ruling spirit of these latter."

Reprobated, forbidden, and condemned is the proposition (No. 55 of the Syllabus): "The Church shall be separate from the State, and the State from the Church."

Reprobated, forbidden, and condemned is the proposition (No. 67 of the Syllabus): "According to the laws of nature the marriage bond is not indissoluble, and in several cases divorce can be legally pronounced by the secular authorities."

Reprobated, forbidden, and condemned, is the proposition (No. 72 of the Syllabus): "Boniface VIII. has, in the first place, declared that the vow of chastity, taken in ordination, renders marriage null and void." (Another attempt to annul a historical fact by a Papal condemnation.)

Reprobated, forbidden, and condemned is the proposition (No. 73 of the Syllabus): "A true marriage may take place between Christians through civil contract merely, and it is false that this is null and void should the sacrament be omitted."

Reprobated, forbidden, and condemned is the proposition (No. 77 of the Syllabus): "It is no longer expedient, in our time, that the Catholic religion be considered the sole State religion, to the exclusion of all other forms."

Finally, there is still the proposition (No. 80 of the Syllabus): "The Pope of Rome must conform and accommodate himself to progress, to Liberalism, and to modern civilisation," which is reprobated, forbidden, and condemned, and therewith is a crown put upon the whole Syllabus.

Such was the step to which, at the close of the year 1864, the Jesuits contrived to impel the Pope, and one might now believe they had at length attained their end. Not so, however, but they had still a last trump "in petto"; so they caused the Pope, through a Council, to be proclaimed as unerring, or, as it is mostly called, infallible. Viewed by the eye of reason, it is certainly not merely absurd, but perfect insanity, to put forward the proposition that any mortal being can exist possessing the attributes of freedom from error, or infallibility, as, in that case, the said mortal would be divested of mortality, and straightway elevated to the Godhead. But when have the

sons of Loyola ever hesitated to smack reason straight in the face, when so doing contributed to their advantage? Naturally; for through the Pope alone were the Jesuits what they were. It was only him, or, rather, perhaps, his predecessor, they had to thank for all their privileges, as, indeed, for their very existence, and, without the Papacy, Jesuitism would never have taken root. On the other hand, to what end would the Papal power have come had there been no sons of Loyola? Thus have Jesuitism and the Papacy grown into one another, and in most recent times they can, indeed, no longer be distinguished from each other. Thus, as the Pope was infallible, so were the Jesuits infallible; or, as may be better said, as the Pope obtained a fulness of power through the dogma of the Infallibility, such as no former Popes ever possessed, so this plenitude of might tended, above all, for the benefit of the Jesuits. For they acquired the entire sway in the Catholic Church over science, literature, and matters of instruction, and, above all, their theology and moral philosophy were raised to be canonical. Indeed, as a modern reasoner expresses it, they entirely alone stamp the dogmatic coin, and all other Orders, all other theologians and ecclesiastics—yes, indeed, the whole of Catholic Christendom—must bow humbly down before them.

Surely and verily, then, was their Order the "*urim* and *thumim*" of the Popish High Priest, as the latter could only issue an oracle when he had, beforehand, consulted his "Breastplate," whereby the said oracle was put into his mouth. Thus "infallible," or, better said, "earthly God Almighty," shall the Pope be, in order that the sons of Loyola may be enabled to take possession of the whole Catholic Church, and appropriate its entire vital powers. But, of course, the dogma of the Infallibility could only be created by a Council, and, accordingly, the Jesuits commenced to urge the Pope, in the year 1865, to call together such a Council. It is true no General Council had taken place for centuries, and the different European Powers might declare themselves to be opposed to the same. But what had the Pope to trouble himself about such trifles when so great a thing was in question? Thus, in the year 1868 were the necessary preparations instituted, in order that the same should be called together at the end of 1869, and everywhere did the Jesuits speak of it, and what great hopes they founded on the same!

Thus an article appeared in the *Civiltà Cattolica*, in the following language:—

"The Liberal Catholics fear lest the Council should proclaim the doctrine of the Syllabus, and the dogmatical infallibility of the Pope; the proper Catholics, however, that is, the great majority of believers, have opposite hopes. They trust the Council may promulgate the doctrine of the Syllabus, and not less will the true Catholics receive with joy the proclamation of the infallibility of the Pope. No one can mistake that the Pope himself is not inclined to take the initiative in respect to a proposition which appears to concern himself. It is to be hoped, however, that the unanimous manifestation of the Holy Ghost by the mouth of the Fathers of the Council will define by acclamation the infallibility of the Pope. Finally, the true Catholics wish the Council may crown the series of homages which the Church has offered to the all-holy Virgin, through the promulgation of the dogma of her glorious reception into Heaven."

Thus wrote the *Civiltà*, while the Belgian Jesuit paper, the *Tyd*, expressed itself as follows:—

"We hope that the Council will, once for all, put an end to the division among Catholics, while it deals a death-blow to the spirit and teaching of Liberalism. On that account it is the certain expectation of all true believers that the dogma of the infallibility of the Pope, and of his supremacy over all councils, will be defined as soon as possible."

Finally, the Jesuitical *Monde* (who does not know this ultra of all ultramontane journals?) proclaimed to mankind the news that the next Œcumenical Council in Rome was determined to deal a decisive blow against Protestantism.

"Protestantism," writes the *Monde*, in December 1868, "has arrived at its last stage of decomposition. This is a self-evident fact; so much so, that even the heads of this sect can no longer conceal the same from themselves. Protestantism maintains itself still in some minds by the nucleus of Christian truths which it has preserved to itself; but in by far the greater majority of Protestants we find nothing but rationalism and nihilism. Is this at all a reassuring symptom, or is it not much rather a prelude to new and more frightful trials for the Society? We are of opinion that this state of transition will be of short duration. Sober minds will spring back from

the edge of the gulf which opens up before them, and return again to the Catholic truth. The Catholic religion will triumph over Lutheran Calvinistic errors as she has overcome the Arian and numerous other heresiës, the names of which are to be found in history ; but the next General Council of St. Peter will bring about this great revolution, and then will peace settle itself down upon mankind whose wish is good and pure."

One sees how much the Jesuits hoped to gain by this council that they had suggested. The great thing, however, was always the infallibility of the Pope ; thus the question involuntarily forces itself on our attention as to whether this doctrine was a pure invention of the Jesuits, or whether it had already been in existence in the Catholic Church. The Jesuits say the question is coeval with Catholicism itself, but what does history show about this ? For fully ten entire centuries after the birth of Christ complete silence reigns throughout the whole Christian Church respecting this doctrine, and neither any of the old confessions of faith, any catechism whatever, nor any other single writing of the Fathers of the Church, contains one word about the Pope and his infallibility. During the first four centuries there were, indeed, no Popes, but merely Bishops of Rome, and the power of these scarcely reached beyond the city itself. They had, moreover, no influence at all on the decision of questions of controversy which at that time agitated the Christian world, and, consequently, there exists no trace whatever of any decrees that they may have issued during this period. Controversial questions were, indeed, simply and solely settled by the assembled bishops at synods and councils, and at several of those, as, for instance, at the second Œcumenical Meeting in the year 381, when the dogma regarding the Holy Ghost was formulated, Rome was not represented at all. From the 5th century onwards, however, as the authority of the Roman See had already greatly increased in importance, this was altered, and the voice of Rome now assumed a more decided character. Thus, in the year 449, the Bishop, or, as we may now say, the Pope, Leo the Great, delivered a powerful utterance on the so-called Eutychian controversy ; but, at the same time, he acknowledged that his view only obtained force after being confirmed by the assembled bishops (Synod of Chalcedon).

Pope Vigilius, in the year 546, came forward still more in the

Nestorian controversy ; but as the fifth Œcumenical Council, in the year 553, dissolved Church fellowship with him on the ground of his heresy, he declared that hitherto, unfortunately, he had been but an instrument of Satan, working for the overthrow of the Church, and recalled all that he had previously taught and decreed.

It went still worse with Pope Honorius I., as the Œcumenical Synod, held at Constantinople in the year 680, condemned him, on account of his approval of the so-called Monothelism, as being heterodox, and his previous manuscript decisions were committed to the flames. Indeed, his immediate successors, such as Leo II. and others, could not refrain from repeating the anathema over him, although he had long been committed to the grave. So here we have an example of a heretical instead of an infallible Pope.

In the extremely shocking condition in which the Roman See found itself from the time of Nicholas I. to that of Leo IX. (from the year 858 to the year 1049), either ill-famed women or barons rivalled one another in appointing, according to their pleasure, Popes who surpassed in profligacy all that had been seen or heard of previously. One has only to think of a John XII., as also of a Benedict IX. One has only to call to mind how the Holy See was openly bought and sold at that time, until finally, in the days of the Emperor Henry III., three Popes contended respecting the Tiara.

What sort of influence could such Popes exercise in Christendom ? how could they lay any claim to infallibility ? Not merely could they not do so, but they did not themselves wish it ; and simply on this account, because they were much too deeply sunk in the mire of the most common vices to be able to think even of anything noble.

It was a very different thing when, in 1049, the famous monk Hildebrand, afterwards Gregory VII., began to make his powerful influence felt, and commenced that great battle with the kingdom, which finally ended victoriously for the Roman See. His motto was reformation of the deeply degraded Church, and thereby he procured a colossal following for himself. The single and sole aim he pursued was to gain absolute dominion for the Church over the State, and then to secure to the Pope sole authority over the former, or, as may be better said, over the bishops and clergy. And this aim he attained in some

degree partly through himself, and partly through his equally powerful immediate successor. The means, however, of which Gregory VII. and his successor made use, for the most part belonged, truly, to the most exceptionable that could be well imagined. One has only to bring to remembrance the colossal falsification of the Isidorian canonry, which then, by the order of the Roman See, was effected by Anselm of Lucia, Gregory of Pavia and others. One has only to call to mind the famous donation of Constantine the Great, owing to the purely fictitious cure of the said Emperor from leprosy, and his baptism by Bishop Sylvester. One has but to remember the decree of Gratian, devised in Bologna, upon which, during many centuries (until the fraud was discovered) the whole Papal canon law depended. One has but to call to recollection the unmarried state of the clergy (celibacy), which was only made law in order that the Pope might gain over a whole army of cowl-bearers without fatherland. One has but to consider the formidable masses of begging monks, who inundated the whole of Europe, fighting for the absolute dominion of the Papacy. Lastly, the Inquisition must be had in memory which consigned to an earthly hell everyone who doubted about an absolute Pope.

It does not belong to us here to bring to light the details of all this, which appertains rather to the history of Popery, and I must content myself by affirming that, through Gregory VII. (the monk Hildebrand) and his immediate successors, especially Innocent, the Pope became elevated to a height which was scarcely removed a step from infallibility. Innocent III., indeed, created afresh out of the *Vicarius Petri* (representative of the Apostle Peter), as the Popes had hitherto designated themselves, a *Vicarius Christi*, or, indeed, *Vicarius Dei* (representative of Christ and God), and consequently decreed that he, as Pope, must no longer be considered human, because he governed as the *alter ego* of our Lord.

Boniface VIII., who wore the tiara from 1294 to 1303, issued, indeed, the notorious Bull, *Unam Sanctam* (so called from the words by which it begins), in which he not only condemns as heresy the assertion that the temporal power is independent of the spiritual, but also represents, as a doctrine of faith, that the Pope controls all, while he himself cannot be controlled by

anyone, as he is alone responsible to God! He holds, says he, two swords in his hands, the spiritual and the temporal, of which the one can only be used by himself alone, the other by kings and princes, but only according to his pleasure and with his permission. Upon such a height had the Popes elevated themselves in the 13th century; but from this time their power decayed more quickly than it had been acquired.

Philip IV. of France, who felt himself to be highly insulted by the excommunicating curse of Pope Boniface VIII.,\* succeeded, by bribery and other such means, in bringing round to his side a majority of the Cardinals in Rome, so that after the death of Boniface, in the year 1304, the Archbishop of Bordeaux, Bertrand de Got, was chosen to be Pope, and this latter, who called himself Clement V., at once removed the Papal seat from Rome to Avignon in France. But what was the consequence? Simply this; that not only the said Clement V., but also his six successors, who resided altogether in Avignon, were compelled to act completely according to the will and pleasure of the reigning kings of France, and, consequently, there could no longer be any question as to Papal infallibility. This period was afterwards very aptly denominated the Babylonish captivity of the Popes. It is true, indeed, that Messieurs, the representatives of God, the more they were oppressed by their French vassalage the more they endeavoured to assume a powerful language against Germany, and already Clement V. declared that every German Emperor was obliged to take an oath of allegiance to the Pope.

But still more daring were his successors, John XXII. and Benedict XII., as both of these darted the lightning of excommunication against the German Emperor, Louis of Bavaria, and declared him deposed. But how did the state of affairs turn out? Was it that Louis of Bavaria was deprived of the German throne, and, consequently, the Pope came off victorious? Oh no; quite the reverse. The German Electoral Princes met together, the Archbishops of Mayence, Treves, and Cologne at their head, and pledged themselves with an oath emphatically to maintain their right of election of a supreme

\* The details concerning this can be read in the *History of the Popes*. Such discussions do not belong to the *History of the Jesuits*. In my *Mysteries of the Vatican* I have fully treated of it in vol. I., p. 260, and following pages, 4th edition.



head against anyone, be he whom he might. Indeed, to make the matter even plainer, they added :

"The rights and ancient customs of the German Empire enjoin that the conformation by the Holy See of the supreme head, elected by a majority of Electoral Princes, is by no means requisite ; and even the title of Emperor may be borne by him consequent on such election, without any regard to the Pope !"

This took place on the 16th July 1388, and immediately the Imperial Diet, held at Frankfort, confirmed these resolutions in every respect. Afterwards the fundamental law of the independence of the German nation as regards the Holy Roman Empire, was proclaimed by the Emperor Louis on the 8th August 1388. It ran thus :—

"We declare, according to the counsel and with the consent of the Electoral Princes and Parliaments of the German Empire, first, that the Imperial dignity is immediately derived from God alone ; secondly, that he who is chosen by all, or even by a majority, of the Electoral Princes, becomes, by this election simply and solely, at once King and Emperor, and, consequently, the recognition and confirmation of the Apostolic See is not required ; thirdly and lastly, that all who oppose this, or even maintain anything to the contrary, shall be punished as guilty of high treason."

Thus did the German Princes break loose from the hitherto all-powerful Papacy, and, so far as Germany was concerned, an end was now put to the hitherto arrogant Papal pretensions. It can be easily imagined, also, how deeply the Papal power was thereby shaken ; but it soon came to be much worse in this respect. Hardly, indeed, had Gregory XI., in 1377, returned from Avignon to Rome, in order to put an end to the insufferable dependence of the Popes on France, than, after his death, which followed in 1378, the Cardinals, although most of them were French-disposed, yet out of fear of the violence of the Romans, elected the Archbishop of Bari, Bartholemew de Prignano, to be Pope, under the name of Urban VI. But only a few months later, such as were French-disposed made their escape to Agnano, in Neapolitan territory, where they were protected by Queen Johanna of Naples, and they at once, in September 1378, created an opposition Pope, in the person of the Archbishop Robert of

Genoa, who, giving himself the name of Clement VII., migrated to Avignon. So there were two Popes instead of one, and with this double Popedom began a time almost worse than insane.

As regards the opposition Popes, as soon as Urban died a successor to him was made by his followers, who elected Boniface IX.; and equally so, later on, by those French-inclined, who chose Benedict XIII. The two Popes, Boniface and Benedict, had also, after their death, successors, and thus it appeared to go on continuously. They cursed each other and the opposite party in such a frightful manner, sufficient to make men's hair stand on end, besides waging war with earthly weapons. But what was still worse even than this, the whole Christian world became divided into two parties, of whom the one (France, Naples, Castille, Arragon, Navarre, and Scotland) recognised the French Pope as *Vicarius Dei*, while the other (Germany, Upper Italy, Hungary, Poland, Denmark, &c. &c.) paid homage to the Roman Pope.

What frightful confusion! What bloodthirsty contention! What corruption and usury as regards the ecclesiastical appointments, as each of the Popes required money! In spite of these frightful doings, the opposition Popes were still allowed to subsist, until at length, after thirty years, the better-disposed among the secular and spiritual princes, came to the conclusion that Christianity itself must fall to the ground unless someone interfered; and thus Charles VI., King of France, assembled by summons a General Council at Pisa in the year 1409. The Council met and deposed the opposition Popes Gregory XII. and Benedict XIII. Further, it nominated a new Pope in the person of Alexander V., who alone was to be looked upon as the proper successor of Peter, and, consequently, it enunciated the doctrine that the Œcumenical Council stood above the Popes.

This was, indeed, all right and proper, but what followed? Gregory XII., as well as Benedict XIII., both protested against their depositions, and there were now three instead of two Popes. God be merciful to us! Three Popes, each of which raged against the other two like a tiger! Alexander V., it is true, died in 1410, but still three Popes existed, as the Cardinals of his party at once nominated a successor in Balthasar Cossa, who called himself John XXIII. Yes, indeed, John XXIII. became the third Pope, although he was notoriously the most

unworthy, most ill-famed and vilest of men who could be found on the face of the earth. The confusion now attained its highest point, and the whole Ecclesiastical Court was sunk in profligacy, corruption, and ignorance.

At that time the Emperor Sigismund of Germany constrained the Pope John XXIII. to convoke another new Œcumenical Council, which latter met in October 1414 at Constance, on the lake so named. It was the greatest gathering that the world had ever seen, and at the same time the most powerful, as all the Christian rulers of Europe had previously declared that obedience must be rendered to its decisions. There appeared at it, besides the Emperor Sigismund and the Pope John XXIII., 26 princes, 140 counts, 20 cardinals, 7 patriarchs, 20 archbishops, 891 bishops and abbots, more than 800 doctors of theology, and not less than 4,000 other priests. It was, consequently, an easy matter for the Fathers of the Council to succeed in deposing the opposing Popes, and also in nominating as a sole properly-constituted Pope, Cardinal Colonna, who called himself Martin V., and thereby put an end to the schism which had lasted for so many years. So now there reigned, as formerly, one single Pope alone. The Council not merely succeeded in this, but in its fourth and fifth sitting it also managed to constitute the following proposition as an everlasting doctrine of faith. The proposition runs thus: "Every properly convened Œcumenical Council, representing the Church, has its authority direct from Christ, and in matters of faith, in the settlement of schisms, and in the reformation of the Church, every one, even the Pope, is subordinate to it, in the fullest degree."

Thus decreed the Council, and not a single one of the prelates there present remonstrated against it. On the contrary, all, without exception, declared themselves as agreeable to the dictum, and the whole Christian world said Amen thereto. Yes, indeed, the whole Christian world, and truly with the most perfect right, as thus and not otherwise had it been held during the first ten centuries of our era. The Popes even from this time forward assented to it; and seeing that not merely all the bishops adhered to the Council, but especially, also, all historians and learned theologians, among whom I may mention the Spaniards, Alfred Madrigal and Andreas Escobar, the Germans Copläus,

Witzel, and Nausea, and, in fine, the celebrated Parisian high school with the still more celebrated Sorbonne, they did not dare for fully two centuries to revert to the pretensions and arrogance of a Gregory VII. or even a Boniface VIII.

It became very different after Ignatius Loyola had founded the Jesuit Order, since the Jesuits looked upon it as their highest problem to establish, by the annihilation of Protestantism, the omnipotence of the Papacy, as it obtained in the Middle Ages at the time of Hildebrand and Innocent, and designated all those who offered to exercise resistance to this as heterodox persons. Who, then, was more jubilant than the Roman Curie!

O God! if the Papacy of the Middle Ages could but be restored, then must the whole western world cringe again at the feet of the Pope, and the latter would once more become the "Representative of God," similar to the blessed condition of an Innocent III. It was even on this ground that the successors of Peter became not only the most zealous supporters of the Jesuits, but threw themselves entirely into their arms, and did only what the pious Fathers suggested to them.

Thus Paul IV., in 1558, only two years after the death of Ignatius Loyola, issued the disreputable Bull, *Cum ex apostolatus officio*, drawn up by the Jesuit General Laynez, in which he defines the following propositions:—

"1. The Pope, who, as *Pontifex Maximus* (Supreme Priest), is the representative of God on earth, has, in the plenitude of his power, entire dominion over peoples and kingdoms; he directs all, but cannot himself be directed by anyone in this world.

"2. All princes and monarchs as well as all bishops, as soon as they have degenerated into heresy or schism from the Church, are irrevocably deposed, deprived of all sovereign rights for ever, and have incurred the penalty of death without any judicial formality being required. In cases of penitential conversion, they shall be immured in a cloister in order that they may make atonement for life on bread and water.

"3. No one must render any assistance whatever, not even such as humanity dictates, to a heretical prince or one found to be schismatical; the monarch who attempts this is forthwith deprived of his country, which shall then fall to the lot of princes obedient to the Pope who can take possession of the same."

So spoke Paul IV. who reigned between 1555 and 1559 ; but Urban VIII. went still further, as under his Pontificate the ill-famed "Lord's Supper Bull" (so-called because it commences with the words, *In cœna Domini*) was definitely issued, and at once read aloud from the pulpits of all the churches of Rome on Maunday-Thursday. But what were the contents of this Bull which henceforth had to become abiding law throughout the whole of Christendom? Why, the Bull "excommunicates and curses all heretics and schismatics, as well as all those who receive, favour, and protect them, no less than all princes and magistrates who harbour in their countries other than Catholic believers ; excommunicates and curses further, all who read the books of heterodox individuals, and who, without the leave of the Pope, keep or print them, as also all, let it be individuals, corporations, or universities, who appeal from a Papal edict to an approaching General Council. It excommunicates and curses, finally, all princes and their servants, down even to writers and beadles, who, without Papal permission, presume to levy new taxes, to institute new duties, or to punish in any way at all spiritual transgressors, thus encroaching on spiritual jurisdiction."

Thus the Jesuits caused Pope Urban VIII. to speak ; and was it to be wondered at that almost all the Princes and States of Europe protested against this monstrous Bull ? Was it to be marvelled at, that not one single Government permitted the proclamation of the same, and that even the Archbishop of Mayence hesitated about it ? The Jesuits, on the other hand, admitted the Bull into their school books, and not only wrote explanatory commentaries on the individual paragraphs, but denied the Holy Communion to those who doubted their legality.

Thus, in short, did the Jesuits labour indefatigably to make the Pope again the universal monarch of the world, exactly as had been the case during the Middle Ages, and they evinced redoubled zeal after their Order, abolished by Clement XIV., had been re-established, owing to a predilection for them on the part of Pope Pius VII. But, as may be easily imagined, all the Popes coincided with them, and allowed themselves only too often to be hurried into taking steps which their supreme power warranted ; there remained always, in that respect, the point as to the right of the Councils over the Popes. Indeed, ever since

the Council of Constance, this was an article of faith, and so long as this was the case, complete Papal absolutism was out of the question. Now, how was this to be rectified? Very simply, indeed; in this way—that the Pope should convoke an Œcumenical Council which should declare him to be infallible over the Councils, and, consequently that all the powers of an absolute governor of the world should be delegated to him. That was the great trump card which the Jesuits of modern times took upon themselves to play, and, as may be well understood, Pius IX. went into the plan with the greatest eagerness.

Under date 29th June 1868, his missive was, therefore, issued throughout the world, which fixed the opening of the Council in Rome for the 8th December 1869, and this document was now zealously criticised on all sides. In the same the Holy Father calls to recollection—

“That the Popes, as well as society in general, had at once summoned General Councils during the severest disorders and distresses of the Church, in order that it might serve to determine, with the bishops of the whole Catholic world, as to the definition of articles of faith, the annihilation of ruling errors, the protection, revelation, and development of Catholic doctrine, the proposed maintenance and restoration of Church discipline, and the abolition of depravity of manners among the people.” “At present, however,” he went on to say, “the Church is shaken by the most frightful commotions, and society in general oppressed by many and great evils. The Catholic Church and her doctrine, as well as the highest authority of the Papal See, are attacked, the religious Orders are abolished, impious writings of all kinds being widely disseminated, and the instruction of youth almost universally withdrawn from clerical supervision. Thereupon follows the progress of disbelief and depravity of manners, the infringement of laws human and divine, so that not alone the Church, but society in general is visited with disorder and misery. In order, therefore, to regulate such oppression and deviation from the right way, a general Church assembly is summoned, which shall carefully consider and determine, as regards purity of the faith, the discipline and organisation of the secular and ecclesiastical orders, the observance of Church commands, care being taken for the Christian instruction of youth and the improvement of

manners, in order that the doctrines of the Church shall be everywhere revived, and always more and more disseminated abroad and obtain preponderance."

In this manner the Pope expressed himself, provisionally, regarding the object of the Council; but for participation in the same he demanded not merely the Catholic Patriarchs, archbishops, bishops, abbots, and especially all those who were entitled to a seat and vote at the General Council of the Catholic Church at all times, but also the bishops of the Greek Church, who are not in relation with the Roman See, and in particular the Protestants as well as "all those who acknowledge the same Redeemer Jesus Christ and pride themselves in the name of Christian, but who do not acknowledge the true Christian faith, and who do not belong to the community of the Catholic Church."

"That these latter," so it continues finally, "may be given the opportunity, through the Council, to extricate themselves from a condition in which they cannot be sure of their own particular salvation, and to come back into the bosom of the Holy Mother Church, as this return to truth and fellowship with the Catholic Church may not alone be the salvation of individuals, but also that of the entire Christian community."

The Jesuits thus caused the Pope to speak, and it cannot be denied that the missive caused no small sensation in the world. First of all, the Protestants allowed themselves to deliberate regarding this, and one after another expressed their astonishment at the naive invitation of the Representative of Christ to take part in the Council. Still more were people amazed at his childish belief that the Protestants would suddenly enter into this idea, and again become good Catholics; so there was no want of scoffing and jeering about the matter. No less was it protested against most solemnly, especially in large assemblies, and the severest reproaches were directed against the Pope and his Jesuits. At length an Englishman, Dr. Cumming went so far as to write to the Holy Father, that he would be willing to take part in the Council provided it should be allowed to him to plead at the same in favour of the principles of Protestantism, and at once published his particular proposal in the newspapers. It was, of course, without result, as the Pope caused a reply to be given to him through the Archbishop of Westminster, Dr. Manning,

"that the Church of Peter could not by any means admit of a discussion in regard to damnable error and heresy, but, on the other hand, that all Protestants were highly welcome if they would discard their preconceived erroneous opinions, and again return to the Father from whom they had, unfortunately, so long strayed away."

But let us now turn from the utterances of the Protestants respecting the Council, and come to what the Catholics thought about it. The most part remained indifferent, if they did not relieve themselves by laughing. Others, who had been long before won over by the Jesuits, acquiesced in it, and rejoiced over the new bone of contention which had been thrown among mankind. A minority were inspired with a peculiar fear in regard to this appointed Council, and these, consisting of the German bishops, who on this account assembled at Fulda, did not omit at first to raise openly their warning voices. Much more important altogether than this, was it that even the German Government of Bavaria mixed itself up in the matter, and with marvellous openness disclosed the aim which was intended by the Council. The Holy Father had not mentioned a single word in his missive, to which I have before alluded, that it might be proposed to proclaim the Papal infallibility as a new doctrine of faith. No, but he spoke in the most pathetic manner of the promotion of religion and piety, of the defence of justice and faith, of the improvement of the education of youth, and much more of a similar description. It appeared that his Holiness wished to make the world believe that matters of a quite innocent character would be brought before the Council; but the Bavarian President of the Ministry, Prince Hohenlohe, issued a circular despatch, under date the 9th April 1869, to the ambassadors accredited to the different European Courts, which brought the matter to light without any circumlocution, and I cannot do better than here reproduce this despatch. It runs as follows:—

"It may for the present be assumed as a certainty that the General Council summoned by His Holiness Pope Pius IX., if no unforeseen circumstance should interfere, will be actually held in December. The same, without doubt, will be attended by a very large number of bishops from all quarters of the globe, and will be more numerous than any which has previously



taken place, and will thus, also, in the public opinion of the Catholic world, lay claim for itself and its decisions the high importance and consideration which are attached to an Œcumenical Council. That the Council will occupy itself merely with the consideration of questions of faith, with subjects of pure theology, is not to be supposed, as matters of this nature, which require a settlement by Council, are not forthcoming. The sole dogmatical subject, so far as I can ascertain from sure sources, which may be settled by a Council in Rome, and for which at present the Jesuits throughout Italy as well as Germany and elsewhere are agitating, is the question of the infallibility of the Pope. This, however, reaches far beyond a purely religious sphere, and is of a highly political nature, as herewith will also come to be determined, as an article of belief, the power of Popes over all princes and peoples. If this highly important and weighty question is now calculated to arouse the attention of all Governments which have Catholic subjects upon the Council, so must their interest, or, more correctly, their solicitude, be increased when they consider the preparations already in progress, and the organisation of this Committee about to be constituted in Rome. Among these points for determination, there is one, also, which has to do with matters connected with the Established Church. It is thus, without doubt, the settled purpose of the Roman Court to decide, through the Council, at least, some resolutions of a politico-ecclesiastical character, and questions of a mixed nature. It is noteworthy that the periodical published by the Roman Jesuits, *Civiltà Cattolica*, to which Pius IX., in a special Brief, has imparted the significance of an official organ of the Roman Curie, has recently indicated a problem intended for the consideration of the Council, viz. to convert the sentences of condemnation of the Papal Syllabus of 8th December 1864, into positive resolutions or decrees of Council. As, now, these articles of the Syllabus are directed against several important axioms of State administration as existent in all civilised nations, there thus arises the anxious question for the Governments—whether and in what shape they would have to indicate, partly to the bishops under their jurisdiction, and partly, also, to the Council itself, the serious results which might be brought about by so important a rupture of the relationship hitherto subsisting between Church and State.

"There further remains the question—whether it might not be expedient that the Governments should, through their representatives present in Rome, tender a protest in common, against such resolutions which might, in a one-sided way, be determined by the Council, without the assistance of the representatives of the State authorities, and without previous communication respecting ecclesiastical State questions, or subjects of a mixed nature. It appears to me imperatively necessary that the States concerned should endeavour to arrive at a reciprocal understanding regarding these serious affairs. I have up to the present waited to see whether an allusion from one side or another might not be forthcoming; as this, however, has not taken place, and time presses, I find myself constrained to charge you to bring to the notice of the Governments to whom you are accredited, the matters in question, in order to obtain information relative to their opinions and views respecting these weighty concerns.

"I beg also to submit to the consideration of the before-mentioned Governments, the question whether a joint, if not a collective, mode of action of the European States, and a more or less identical form might not be resolved upon, in order that the Court of Rome should not beforehand leave them in ignorance regarding the attitude to be assumed by them before the Council, and whether a conference of some description of the representatives of the whole of the Governments concerned might not be considered the fittest means to determine that joint action in regard to a settled mode of procedure."

One sees that the Premier Minister of Bavaria thus spoke clearly and openly, and the view he took was apparent, to frustrate the intentions of the Pope and his friends the Jesuits, at least in relation to the dogmatisation of the Syllabus, as well as to the declaration regarding the Infallibility of the Roman High Priest.

But how, then, did the different European Governments receive his proposition? Several of them did not mistake regarding the uncommon importance thereof, and instantly demanded in Rome whether the views, spoken of by Prince Hohenlohe, were actually entertained in Rome. But while the Roman Secretary of State, Cardinal Antonelli, gave the most tranquillizing assurances, and indicated, indeed, that the Roman

Curie was not responsible for what an individual Jesuit had written in the *Civiltà*, the inquiring ministers saw no longer any cause for distrust, and simply declined the proposition of the Premier Minister of Bavaria. Thus acted Count Beust, the Prime Minister of Austria, and he was followed by the smaller German Governments. Most of the dissentient States were of opinion, however, that they knew how to protect themselves against any such ecclesiastical attacks, and they decided to await, first of all, whatever should occur in Rome. They wished to keep quiet, truly, and the Swiss Confederacy replied "that it did not find itself in a position to put in a protest beforehand, or to take, indeed, precautionary measures against eventual conclusions to which the Council might at any time come, and especially, as the Constitutional measures were already sufficiently well known, as to how such resolutions of the Council as might be in opposition to the principles of the Constitution, or might endanger the peace under the secrecy of the confessional, had to be met."

Thus the Conference asked for by Prince Hohenlohe not only did not take place, but no hindrances of any kind were offered to the assemblage of the Council, and the Jesuit party in Rome were simply allowed to do as they pleased. The Council was convoked by the Pope for the 8th December 1869, and already on the 1st of that month upwards of 400 bishops and prelates out of all Catholic Christian States—indeed, from all regions of the world—were to be found in Rome. During the next two days there streamed in 800 more, and thus the opening actually took place on the day fixed, at 9 o'clock in the morning.

The Pope advanced in procession before the assembled bishops into the hall in the Vatican, where the sitting was held, and the crowd was enormous. In the hall itself were to be found, in the Tribunes filled to overflowing, the first Catholic notabilities, ambassadors, counts, princes, even an Empress (Austria), and all now listened in breathless silence to the allocution (address) of the Pope. But what did he say? Not a word about what had been mooted by Prince Hohenlohe, but he merely expressed his joy at the arrival of the Bishops, "as they had now only come together in order to point out to all men the ways of God, and to adjust false human science, as well as the impious conspiracy of disbelievers against the Church." He did not,

indeed, express himself thus pithily and briefly, for his speech took a full hour in delivery; the fact was, however, that it related as little to the true object of the Council as did the missive which invited the bishops to Rome.

But let us now leave the allocution, as well as the festivities connected with the opening, which took fully six hours, and turn to the Council itself, that we may, first of all, ascertain something as to its composition. It consisted, on the whole, at the time of the convocation of the higher Catholic clergy, besides the Pope, of 57 real cardinals, 12 real patriarchs, 139 real archbishops, 723 real bishops, and, lastly, of 234 titular bishops, among whom were 36 titular archbishops. This made up the full number, in all, of 1,163 of the higher ecclesiastics; but, of course, it was well known that all, without exception, could not appear, as many were unavoidably detained; some by sickness, some by the infirmities of old age, and others by one cause or another. Only about the half was, therefore, to be reckoned on; but still the thing turned out even better than was anticipated, and not fewer than 767 prelates met in conclave. Such a mass of the Princes of the Church had never before, at any previous Council, been brought together, and Pius IX. could look upon his assembly with pride.

Let us examine, however, these ecclesiastical gentlemen more in detail. There was, to begin with, a great difference between them; as, for instance, the diocese of Breslau numbered 1,700,000 Catholics, and possessed only one single bishop, while the States of the Church, as constituted in the year 1869, numbering not quite 700,000 Catholic inhabitants, were represented by 62 bishops. In like manner, 1,400,000 belonged to the diocese of the Archbishop of Cologne, 1,300,000 to that of the Archbishop of Cambray, and 2,000,000 Catholics to that of the Archbishop of Paris. On the part of Naples and Sicily, on the other hand, there appeared 68 archbishops and bishops, although the population they represented had not even, put together, a third more inhabitants than the diocese of Cologne, Cambray, and Paris. Further, still, Catholic Germany numbering somewhere about 12,000,000, was represented by only 14 Princes of the Church, while the whole of Italy sent no fewer than 194; and that this was a great disproportion must be clear to everyone. Notwithstanding all

this, however, the Pope ruled that every bishop, whether he represented a larger or smaller community, should have the same right as to voting, and even the titular bishops enjoyed a similar privilege. Why was this? The grounds of it could well be apprehended, in that the Pope knew quite well that the smaller bishops were, with scarcely an exception, all on his side. Already had the Papal organ—edited by the Jesuits—the *Civiltà Cattolica*, under date the 2nd October, 1869, loudly proclaimed that the bishops had not been summoned to Rome in order to discuss, but in order to approve of all the propositions which would be made in the name of the Pope; and if this, now, was the aim that was pursued in the Pope's favour, then must there not be, at the Council, a decided majority of the members on his side? Certainly, if it was wished that his plans should be carried through, a large majority of the bishops must blindly approve of everything without discussion; and the Jesuits had to take care that such a majority should be at their disposal at once from the beginning. They, indeed, did take care in this respect, as, lo and behold! as soon as the Council was opened, it became apparent that two great parties existed. Two very unequal ones, however, namely, a minority of somewhere about 160, and a majority of, say 600 heads. It was reasonable, then, to inquire of what elements the two parties consisted, and it was found that the majority was chiefly of two descriptions of bishops; namely, first of all, of bishops of the Roman race, and secondly, of the titular, or mission bishops. The Romans came in the first place from Italy, then from Spain and Portugal; lastly, from Mexico, Brazil, and the South American Free States, and formed a contingent of somewhere about 350 heads. How could these vote otherwise than as the Pope's party wished? One has only to reflect that by far the greater number of those had acquired their entire education and theology in Jesuit Colleges. One has to consider how much the Italian bishops were dependent on those who almost entirely nominated them. One has to bear in mind that the Spanish bishops had been raised to their bishoprics by the extra pious, because extra profligate, Queen Isabella, and her faithful counsellor, the Papal Nuncio at Madrid, and that the Queen, together with the latter, had naturally selected only the most truly Popish sheep. One has, lastly, to call to recollection

the spiritual darkness which had for so long a period reigned in South and Central America, into which even our own century had been unable to introduce any ray of light, at least so far as the high clergy were concerned. When all this is considered, can it be wondered at that all these Romans, or, at least, almost all of them, swam in Jesuit ultramontane waters? while the missionary bishops from Asia and Africa, who together formed a contingent of about 150, would prove themselves to be schooled, being not one iota less Popish, or, as I have above said, Jesuitically ultramontane, since naturally being, indeed, without exception, pupils of the Roman Propaganda; they, therefore, only waited for any hint coming from that quarter. From them no single opinion was wanted or required, but each vowed to do whatever the Fathers of the Society of Jesus required of them, without for a moment troubling himself as to the nature of the vow he had taken. They were "voting cattle," as one says in North America, and therein lay simply and solely the ground why they had been summoned from their distant stations. Simply and solely, indeed; for, as proper Bishops, that is, as ecclesiastics who represented large Catholic districts, or, as may be better said, strong Catholic communities, they could not be considered, because they possessed, for the most part, none at all, or, at least, a very small one indeed, just in its infancy. But did not their summons to Rome cost the Pope a large sum? O Lord! they had all of them a frightfully long and expensive journey to make, and, as the eternal complaint of the missionary journals about want of money was well known, their own purses were, indeed, perfectly empty. If their presence in Rome was required, it was necessary to give them assistance from the Pope, and this cost large sums of money. Still more, during the whole time of their sojourn in Rome it was necessary to feed them and supply all their other requirements, as they were unable to earn anything for themselves, and this maintenance and clothing of them, &c.\* also made great demands on the Papal treasury.

\* Besides these mission bishops there were also at least 150 others, notoriously poor, who were present at the expense of the Pope, especially those from the East and the Titular Bishops (bishops *in partibus infidelium*) who were attached to no dioceses. To such appertains the proverb, "Wess Brod ich ess, dess Lied ich sing" (I sing the praises of him whose bread I eat). It was well that at that time Peter's pence flowed in freely, otherwise the Pope might readily have become insolvent instead of Infallible. I

Lastly, was not the expense of the return journey of these missionary bishops a great burden to the Pope, and could it be imagined that they would have been summoned had he not been perfectly certain of them? It is to be seen, then, that the Jesuitical ultramontane party could rely upon more than 500 votes; but, added to this, there came the Jesuitically-schooled Bishops, of whom there were not a few, partly in Germany, partly in England, Belgium, and North America, and still more in France, and thus the certain majority from the beginning amounted, at the least, to 600 heads. The minority, however, which was reckoned at somewhere about 160 heads, consisted partly of German, Hungarian, and Bohemian bishops, so far as they had not previously been won over by the Society of Jesus, partly, also, of those French, North Americans, and English who could lay claim to education and knowledge.

The reader has now been acquainted with the constitution of the Council, and knows that the Pope and his friends the Jesuits could, by a large majority, carry everything that they desired; but they were not at all satisfied with this, they wished to gain over the minority also for themselves, or, at least, to reduce it to a minimum. It might be expected beforehand, truly, of some few, that they would remain firm and consistent, in order to bid defiance to Jesuitical suggestions; it was not to be anticipated, however, that the others could boast, in any way, of such an iron character, but that they could be made supple by degrees. Thus, then, did the sons of Loyola set to work, under the guidance of their General Beckz. hanging like chains on the bishops amongst the minority. Wherever they themselves, however, could not reach, they knew how to influence one of the chaplains, or secretaries, or counsellors devoted to them, so that he might play their game, and thus an artificial net was spun round all the members of the minority which was drawn together in the Collegio del Jesu. What, however, were the means employed? Well, naturally enough, threats in the first place, and on the other hand promises, which seldom fail to produce their effect on weak souls. Oh! can it not easily be imagined that the enticement of a title, as, for example, that of

may also remark that Pius IX. nominated, in the years 1868 and 1869, over fifty titular bishops, ostensibly for no other reason than to increase the number of votes upon which he might reckon in the Council.

Papal House-Prelate, might make an impression among the bishops belonging to the minority? Thus, the Bishop Lavignerie, of Nancy, allowed himself to be allured thereby, when a new liturgical garment, a stole adorned with fringe, called *Super-numerale*, was found for him, which hitherto no Western bishop had been allowed to wear! Besides, were there not Cardinals' hats which might be promised? I remember the instance, in this respect, of the Hungarian Primate Simon. Might not, indeed, national hate be even made use of, as, for instance, when the Polish bishops were promised that the Pope would accord his blessing if Poland should break loose from Russia? In short, there were plenty of baits, and it was only required to bring them to bear in a skilful manner, as fitting for each individual person. Moreover, might not threats be made to operate—threats of the Pope's disfavour, as well as that of impending excommunication, on more prolonged resistance to the wishes of the great majority? Certainly by such means good results were obtained, especially when their employment was not restricted merely to one or two cases. Thus, the preponderating majority of the Council was through and through Jesuitically ultramontane, and this was proved by the manner and way in which its commissions were constituted. The subjects which the Council had to take into consideration were previously examined, before being brought to discussion in the great assembly of Council, the Commissions being confirmed, or otherwise, according to the result. On the whole six of these were nominated, the first for dogmas and articles of faith (*Congregatio de fide*), the second for questions of ecclesiastical polity (*Congregatio de ecclesia*), the third for ecclesiastical discipline, the fourth for ecclesiastical order, the fifth for Oriental, and the sixth for miscellaneous matters; by far the most important, however, were the first two, which were to give their judgment on matters of Faith and Church, and in the persons who were elected on this committee the earnest opinions of the Council were again reflected. Only such prelates were chosen as held Jesuitical ultramontane opinions; and thus it was known pretty well beforehand what would be the sentiments of the majority of the Council, as the subjects submitted to their consideration would assuredly be viewed in a Jesuitical ultramontane light. Had broad-thinking prelates, on the other hand, been elected, they would, of course,



have held a contrary opinion, and then the resolutions of the Council's committees would have met with opposition.

Well, now, already the two parties measured their strength, on the 14th December, by the election of the Committee on Articles of Faith; but what was the result? The minority, that is, the liberal-thinking among the prelates (I thus term them, although even they possessed but little enough of what one generally understands by the expression), were unable to carry a single one of their party, although they gave themselves the greatest trouble that, at least, the two most prominent theologians and Church historians, Dr. Hefele, Bishop of Rottenburg, and Archbishop Dupanloup, of Orleans, might not be thrown out; indeed, the majority elected only Jesuit pupils, and that according to a list which was previously prepared for them by the Collegio del Jesu. Thus, only adherents of the Jesuit party were placed on the Committee, and of these, in the first rank were Dechamps, Manning, Martin, Senestry Pie, Regnier, and Gardoni. Precisely similar results were afterwards obtained as to the election of the remaining committees, and it was now perfectly well known that every proposal that the Jesuit ultramontane party had a desire to bring forward would be carried in Council. I will presently indicate some of the members of Council by name, and this will, perhaps, awaken in the reader curiosity to become more acquainted somewhat with these prelates, at least the more important among them. Let us, first of all, turn to the majority, to those, that is, who might be called the "pillars of the Papacy." It must, indeed, certainly be conceded that nine-tenths of them, and, before all, the Romans and missionaries, were very far behindhand as regards knowledge and cultivation, and frequently were not even at home in Latin, much less in theology; but they had leaders, and these latter must not be undervalued. In the first rank I name Monsignor Gardoni, Archbishop of Edessa, who already had played a part in the Council as Consulter of several Congregations and Theologian of the Dataria, and had devoted himself, heart and soul, to the Jesuits. Cardinal Barnabo contrived to render no less service to the Curie, for, as Prefect to the Propaganda, he at once assumed a decided attitude as to the discipline of the missionary bishops, and did not hesitate to threaten some of them with a withdrawal of their subsidies from the Pope as soon as they showed symptoms,

even in the least degree, of an inclination towards independence. Further are to be named Cardinals de Angelis of Lucca and Capalti of Bilio, of whom the latter was a tolerably well-schooled theologian, and even understood a little German; not more, however, than to say that the science of the country incited in him a feeling of horror.

I next have to mention Monsignor Lulio, a Barnabite, and the prelates Audisio and Vincenzi, of whom the first had composed a work on Jesuit moral theology, the second a history of the Popes, and the third an apology for Origen. The principal pillars of the majority were, however, not Romans, but English, French, or Germans, simply for this reason, that, in order to find true men of learning, one must travel far abroad, to Germany, France, and England.

Among the non-Romans, Archbishop Dechamps, of Mechlin, prominently distinguished himself; a scholar of the Society of Jesus who knew how to develop his inborn gift of speech. He attached himself, from the very commencement, to the most extreme party, and, when there was nothing else for it, loved to engage in a combat of words regarding all bad Christians who set themselves up in opposition to the principles preached by the Jesuits. Along with him might be placed Archbishop Spalding, of Baltimore, a New Englander, who, at the commencement, placed himself among the liberal thinkers, but only for the first few days, for he afterwards went over full sail into the Jesuit camp. Archbishop Manning, of Westminster, the successor of Cardinal Archbishop Wiseman, some years before deceased, showed himself equally determined in regard to his Jesuit ultramontane opinions, and succeeded in carrying with him the English and Irish bishops. It ought to be known, however, that in his activity he never lost sight of his own personal advantage, and, had it not been for the promise of a Cardinal's hat, he would, perhaps, have attached himself to the opposition side of the Council. Among the few Germans who went, thick and thin, with the majority, were Bishops Martin of Paderborn, Senestrey of Ratisbon, Fessler of St. Pölten, and Leonrod of Eichstadt, as those four had long before been won over to Jesuit views; and on their arrival in Rome it was natural for them to range themselves completely in the circle of the Popish party. It is true that, of late years, they had expressed them-

selves—especially Bishop Martin—quite differently ; but does it not happen a thousand times over that men change their opinions, especially when thereby they derive no sort of disadvantage. Besides, I cannot help remarking that the German bishops mentioned distinguished themselves, in the speeches which they delivered, much more by shouts, rebukes, and insults, than by profoundness and eloquence ; and it may be observed that their aim and object was much more to fulminate than to confute.

Lastly, there were several Frenchmen who belonged to the Jesuit ultramontane party, and among those I may mention the Bishops Pie of Poitiers, Dreux-Brézé of Moulins, and Regnier of Cambray. Less conspicuous were the Bishops Plantier of Nîmes, Mermillod of Geneva, and some others ; but they dragged along the great coach, and stood in high favour with the holy Father and his Jesuits.

We must now, however, as a matter of course, refer to the leaders of the minority ; and here it proves to be undeniable that, although their number was but small, they far excelled in understanding, knowledge, honesty of purpose, consistency, and eloquence. What calmness and dignity, as well as elegance, did Archbishop Melchers, of Cologne, display, although it must certainly be admitted that he was wanting in determination, as he wished, if possible, to prevent the occurrence of any rupture. What force of language was at the command of Archbishop Haynald, of Kalosca (Hungary), as well as of Bishop Strossmayer, of Bosnia and Servia ! With them no other member of the Council could compete. This was universally admitted, and the difference between the two consisted in this, that Haynald distinguished himself by greater elegance and adroitness, Strossmayer by greater fire, so that his burning words penetrated even to the bone and marrow.\* Archbishop Darboy, too, knew how to speak excellently well, and as he diligently endeavoured to

\* Strossmayer especially thundered against the Jesuits in the fifth sitting of the Council, judging unfavourably as to their teaching and system. "Consider well, my honourable brethren," he exclaimed to the bishops, "the situation in which these men opposite (the Jesuits) stand. It is they who initiate and determine all the proceedings of the Council. Consider how the conclusions which it has the idea of surrounding with the highest Church authority are framed, fixed, and prescribed by these men. Consider the dangers to which the Church must be subject when it takes its teaching from the Jesuits, as their doctrines are in contradiction to history, to the Fathers of the Church, to the Word of God, to everything, in short, that is held to be most sacred by true Christians."

express himself with perspicacity, his opponents listened to him with strained attention. Precisely similar was it with Archbishop Dupanloup of Orleans, who, notwithstanding his French delicacy, unburdened himself with the utmost candour, and unreservedly pronounced "that the folly of omnipotence which had been assiduously awakened and cherished in the heart of the Pope by miserable flatterers, added to Curial avarice, bore the chief blame of the decay and numberless deficiencies of the Church."

Not less brilliant as a leader of the minority was Bishop Hefele, of Rottenburg, as learned a theologian as anyone, as also the greatest living authority in Council business. Then there was the Cardinal-Prince Archbishop Schwarzenberg of Prague, as well as Cardinal Archbishop Rauscher of Vienna, both of whom could not be too highly esteemed for their intrepidity. Further, Cardinal Archbishop Mathieu of Besançon, and Archbishop Ginoulsiac of Lyons; lastly, Bishops Förster of Breslau, Dinkel of Augsburg, and Eberhard of Treves, whose candour could not for a moment be questioned.

But when, now, the best speakers, supported by learning and steadfastness of character, had ranged themselves on the side of the minority, and used the greatest efforts to carry out what they considered to be the truth, what more could be done? The majority formed a determined body, that would listen to no arguments, but simply follow the advices they received from the Collegio del Jesu. Moreover, were the deliberations of the Council free? that is to say, of such a nature that every member found himself in a position to express his opinion without any let or hindrance? Was it permitted to everyone carefully to examine the matter at issue, and then, when this was done, to vote accordingly?

There is still another question to which I must necessarily devote a few words, as now, when one reflects upon all this, one can have some idea how the Council terminated as it did. First of all, the place in which the Council held its sittings was extremely unfavourable for free deliberation. The right wing of the nave of St. Peter's had been selected by the Pope for the purpose, or, in other words, the Chapel of the Holy Processus, and this space was separated from the rest of the Basilica of the great church by barricades. But while, now, this locality was

sufficiently extensive to furnish conveniently with seats all the bishops, patriarchs, and cardinals there assembled, it was completely wanting in the first requirement for a large assembly hall, namely, it was deficient as to its acoustic properties. After obtaining a seat, the speaker could not be heard unless he possessed the powerful organ of a Strossmayer, which so penetrated through it that all his words could be clearly followed. It was declared, even by Cardinal di Pietro, after the first six sittings, that he had actually not understood a single speech, and another cardinal also stated that during all the deliberations not forty words had reached to him. Anything like a thorough discussion was quite out of the question; a lively exchange of remarks and counter-observations did, indeed, take place, but, on these grounds, no speaker could hope to make an impression on his audience.

There might have been some amends made in this respect if the members of Council had at least been able to read the speeches which they could not hear; but, after the first sitting, the bishops were prohibited from allowing their votes and discourses to be printed, and this prohibition remained as long as the Council lasted.

Can one now call this a free council, with free deliberation? Has not, indeed, every member of every assembly, and in every parliament, the right of making propositions either himself alone or in conjunction with other associates holding similar opinions, and of bringing forward motions which may be discussed by the assembly? How was it, however, with the Council at Rome? Well! the Pope, in virtue of his supreme power, nominated a general congregation, which had to examine into all propositions and motions on their introduction, and to sit in judgment on them as to whether or not they might be brought forward, and this Commission was composed entirely of those who held Jesuitical opinions.\* Thus it was that only those propositions could be brought forward which met with the approval of the Pope and his party. As a rule, however, all decrees were intro-

\* In the General Congregation there were summoned by the Pope the Cardinals Pairizi, di Pietro, de Angelis, Corsi, Sforza, Cullen, Barili, Moreno, and Antonelli; then the Patriarchs of Antioch and of Jerusalem; again, the Archbishops of Tours, Turin, Valencia, St. Iago da Chili, Baltimore, Soronto, Tesselonica, Cardi, and Westminster; lastly, the Bishops of Paderborn and Anagni.

duced in the name of the Pope himself, and the assembly had nothing further to do than to accord its "placet."\*

In short, it was the most servile council that could well be imagined; and in confirmation of this I quote the opinion of a man who was held in great esteem in the Catholic camp, Vicomte le Meaux, the son-in-law of Count Montalembert. Writing to the strongly Catholic Parisian newspaper *Correspondant*, he states:—

"All propositions about which the Council have to consult are made up beforehand; the order of affairs is forced upon the bishops, the committees are chosen, before any deliberation, according to an official list, by a disciplined majority which give their votes as one man. In these committees the minority is unrepresented, while other conferences than those in the general congregation do not take place. The matters are brought forward quite impromptu, and laid before the members of Council without previous explanations. The speeches are with difficulty understood, while as regards memoranda (stenographic reports) which may be inspected by the Fathers, there are none; so that it is impossible for the bishops to communicate their mature thoughts to their colleagues. Then it is forbidden to cause anything whatever to be printed here for the Council; and in all these features one recognises an assembly called together, not to discuss but to approve, designed to elevate the power which has summoned it, instead of to moderate it."

The Vicomte de Meaux formed this judgment from personal observation; and now, I ask once more, was it a free assembly with free power of deliberation? But with what did the Council occupy itself? Of course with ecclesiastical matters of faith, as the Pope, in his missive to the bishops, as well as in his allocution at the opening of the Council, had proclaimed; but these matters of general business were but secondary to those on account of which such pains had been devoted in calling together in Rome so many bishops from such great distances, and with

\* If all those present said Yes, or "Placet," it ran thus: "Nosque (We, 'Pius IX.') sacro approbante Concilio decernimus, statuimus atque sancimus"; but if the minority said No, or "Non placet," the number of "Noes" had to be given, and then it read thus:—"Nosque sacro approbante Concilio decernimus, statuimus atque sancimus." The Pope was, then, the only decisive lawgiver, who, out of politeness and courtesy, listened to the opinions of the bishops; and, consequently, the Council was only treated as a consultative body called together for that purpose.

such expense and trouble. The question, on the other hand, was rather in regard to things of the highest importance, no less than the exposition and sanctioning of three entirely new articles of faith, namely, the Assumption of the Virgin Mary; the dogmatising of the Syllabus, with the contents of which the reader has already been made aware; and, lastly, the dogma of the Infallibility of the Pope, of which I have likewise already spoken in detail. These three dogmas must be confirmed and sanctioned in such a way that in future all Catholics shall believe them at the risk of the loss of eternal happiness; but it must so happen as if the members of the Council itself, in the name of Catholic Christendom had spontaneously urged these three dogmas, and on this account the Pope had not made mention of them in a single passage, either in his missive or in his allocution. It was a most cunningly devised artifice of the Jesuits in order to throw dust in the eyes of the world; and they calculated that thereby the bishops who were inclined towards opposition, would not be able to make themselves at home on the subject by the necessary theological and historical studies.

The main objects which should engage the attention of the Council were sedulously concealed from the bishops, in order that they should be unprepared, and without the necessary books; they would then simply sanction in the Council, as voting machines, what had been elaborated by the Jesuits.

Now, in the first place, as regards the Assumption of Mary, this dogma was, of the three that have been mentioned, the most harmless; after that the Pope had once declared "the Immaculate Conception of Mary" as a divine revelation, it would be not much to attest her ascension to heaven, also in her living body. There is not a single syllable said of this ascension to heaven, it is true, in the New Testament, which is completely silent regarding the fate of the mother after her death. Equally little was declared by the ancient teachers of the Church on this point, and no single individual amongst them relates when she died and where she was buried. As, however, Mary-worship rose higher and higher, it naturally could not be wanting that people began to translate her into heaven, and hence gradually the tradition arose that she had been taken up into the skies when still living. Be it well understood, moreover, that the ancient teachers of the Church treated

this idea purely as tradition, and in the Martyrology in use in the Church of Rome, by Usuard, it stands recorded that in the 9th century nothing whatever was known regarding the death of the Virgin Mary, or as to the fate of her corpse.

Besides, when later it became customary, here and there, to observe, on the 15th August, "the Festival of the Ascension of Mary into Heaven," the Church was still far from recognising this ascension as dogma. It was the Order of Jesus who first of all thought otherwise, and as, also, Pius IX. venerated the "Madonna" above everything, it made it easy for him to demand, on the part of the Council, the dogmatising of the bodily ascension. Yet, no, this statement is incorrect; the Pope did not directly submit this demand to the Council, but the Jesuits, with the consent of the Pope, went round among the bishops with a petition, requesting them "to make the bodily ascension to heaven of the Mother of our Lord an article of faith, and thus to anathematise everyone who doubts this, and who asserts that the same is mere tradition." Yes, indeed, the Jesuits circulated this petition to the Pope amongst the bishops of the majority in the beginning of January 1870, and by the 31st of that month it had already obtained more than 400 signatures. What was, then, the wonder when the Committee of Faith (the *Congregatio de fide*) was at once empowered to receive the new dogma among the articles of faith, wherever, at the close of the Council, all those bishops who had inscribed on their banner the Infallibility of the Pope, voted for the new dogma? It is not necessary that we should dilate still further concerning this dogma, held by most people to be the Pope's hobby, but we pass over to the second and much more important point, the dogmatising of the Syllabus.

The Jesuits, even before the commencement of the Council, declared quite openly that the theses of the Syllabus must be regarded as dogmas. Thus, before the sanction of them by Council, and, indeed, a few days after the opening of the Council, a number of the bishops belonging to the majority had a joint audience of the Holy Father, giving it as their opinion that the complete Syllabus ought to be dogmatised. "He could not neglect this," as he expressed himself, "and would sooner yield something on other points." Thereupon, Father Clement Schrader, one of the most sagacious and, at the same time, well-



informed members of the Order of Jesus, was commissioned to elaborate formally the eighty theses of the Syllabus—the most remarkable of these are already known to the reader—so that they should be the more readable, as, according to the sons of Loyola, “the Syllabus was good, but being raw flesh, should, first of all, be made palatable by skilful preparation;” the matter, however, should remain the same, and rather, even, gather additional fire. Father Schrader undertook this commission with the greatest zeal, and the results of his labours were the eighty *Canones de fide et ecclesia Christi* (Precepts in respect to Christian Faith and of the Christian Church), which accurately expressed the eighty theses of the Syllabus. When he was ready with the work, however, Cardinal Bilio was entrusted with its revision, and as this prince of the Church carried out this work, one may conclude therefrom that the same would possess the approval of the Pope, and, in like measure, also of the Jesuits. In other words, the canons remained as they had been elaborated by the Jesuit Schrader, and in this form were laid before the Fathers of the Council. How did these, however, proceed in regard to the paper submitted to them? There was certainly contained within it a whole deluge of equally irrational as un-Christian sentences, which the bishops, after a little reflection, should have absolutely rejected. War was not only waged therein against Protestantism, but also against the whole modern world, and especially against State arrangements as now constituted throughout Europe. But what did that matter? The bishops of the majority found all very excellent, and accepted the new enrichment of the teachings of faith and manners, as if they had discovered a treasure therein. Consequently it was but natural to find that ultimately, on the 13th July 1870, the whole scheme had been voted *en bloc*, only 97 having opposed it, while the remaining 600 then present gleefully pronounced their “Placet.” Like the dogma of the bodily Ascension of Mary, the Syllabus had thus been also dogmatised, and the Jesuits rejoiced with exceeding joy. Still, great as was this delight, it could only be made complete when the third new doctrine should also be raised to the dignity of a dogma, the doctrine, namely, of the Infallibility of the Pope, and to this we must now turn our attention.

The Pope, as has been already seen, both in his missive con-

voking the Council as well as in his allocution at its opening, had preserved perfect silence about the matter, and his Secretary of State, Antonelli, had, indeed, gone so far as to give assurance to several of the representatives of foreign Powers, that the Holy See did not contemplate making it a subject to be laid before the Fathers of the Council. Nevertheless, the dogma of the Infallibility buzzed about, so to speak, in the air, and everyone knew that the bishops had been summoned to Rome, if not simply and solely, at all events chiefly, to vote that dogma. How, then, could an escape be made out of this dilemma? Eh, indeed, the Fathers of the Order had long ago a scheme *in petto*, and this consisted simply in once more concocting a petition to the Pope, in which he was entreated to lay the dogma of the Infallibility before the Council. But, truly, it must not have the appearance of proceeding from the Pope himself, as this, indeed, would have the semblance of too great presumption, so the idea must emanate from the Council; and if this was the case, what foreign Power could then have anything to allege against what should occur? The question, thus, was of a twofold character, first of all to find out the proper Fathers of the Council who might prepare the petition, and then, again, to collect signatures to it, so that an imposing majority might appear. Both objects were, however, attained without the slightest difficulty. Persuaded by the Jesuits, Archbishop Manning of Westminster, Spalding of Baltimore, and Dechamps of Mechlin, with Bishops Senestrey of Ratisbon, Martin of Paderborn, Canopa of Verona, and Mermillod of Geneva, entered together into a Consortium, and, aided by the editorial department of the *Civiltà*, modelled a petition to the Pope, as well as, at the same time, to the Council, the contents of which ran as follows:—

“The undersigned Fathers submit to the Holy Œcumenical Synod of the Vatican, the most humble and pressing solicitation that it may determine in plain words, excluding all possibility of doubt, that the authority of the Pope of Rome should be supreme, and therefore free of error, when he fixes and dictates such matters of faith and manners as should be accepted and upheld by faithful Christians, as well as when he rejects and condemns them.”

Such a petition was put in circulation, naturally, however,

only among those who could be relied upon, as truly Popishly disposed; and, lo and behold! the signatures already numbered, on the 15th January, not less than 512. A splendid majority was thus beforehand secured for the dogma about to be created, and one can now well imagine how great was the joy of the Jesuits.

There was, still, a small bitter pill in store for them; for scarcely had the broad-thinking bishops become acquainted with this manœuvre, than they counselled together whether they might not get up a petition to the Pope which should be couched in opposite terms. The majority of them resolved upon this, and the Cardinal Archbishop Rauscher was entrusted with the preparation thereof. He went as mildly as possible to work, but he did not on that account mince matters in regard to the difficult point in question. His opposition statement runs thus:—

“It would be a vain undertaking if one were to lay before Christian people the doctrine recommended by the majority as an openly revealed truth of God, and, in the absence of discussion, this thing is repugnant to our hearts. We, therefore, approach thee, confiding in thy benelovence, that the necessity of deliberating on such matters may not be imposed upon us, and we hope of thee that thou wilt not lay before the Committee on Matters of Faith the petition in favour of the Infallibility. Moreover, as we administer our episcopal charge among the more important Catholic nations, we are thus by daily experience aware of the state of matters with them; even, on this account, it is known to us that the desired definition will but deliver new weapons to the enemies of religion, and excite bitter enmity against Catholic affairs, and we are certainly persuaded that the same must offer an occasion or pretext, at all events within the sphere of our governments in Europe, to attack privileges still appertaining to the Church.”

Such were the terms of the counter-petition, and the same was signed by 137 Fathers of the Council, among whom were the Archbishops of Vienna, Prague, Olmutz, Bamberg, Munich, Kalocsa, Cologne, Saltzburg, and Lemberg, as well as by the Bishops of Breslau, Hildesheim, Treves, Osnabruck, Mayence, Rottenburg, Augsburg, St. Gallen, Trieste, Budweis, Fünzkirchen, Grosswardein, Temeswar, Tarnow, Laibach, Raab, Siebenbürgen, Bosnia, and Servia. Did the sons of Loyola allow

themselves to be intimidated by this? No, not in the least degree, but, on the 22nd January 1870, the Infallibility address mentioned, with its mass of signatures, was presented, and at once handed over to the Committee on Matters of Faith, in order to its being discussed, under the proper presidency of the Pope.

And now, shall I describe further the ins and outs of how it went with this desired dogma of the Jesuits? With what words, for instance, the Bishops of Belley and Carcassone concisely called upon the Council to proclaim the Infallibility without delay, as it had been called together simply and solely with this object? Or how Schwarzenburg, the Cardinal Archbishop of Prague, condemned the desired dogma with these words: "You will cause the religious ground to give way under our feet if you pass unanimously as the newest dogma a project of the personal infallibility, reprobated and long abandoned by men of sound understanding, and which you may yourselves be well convinced the world will never accept as law"? Or how the Jesuitically-disposed, that is, the Infallibilitists, broke out into a roar of rage, with clenched fists, at the powerful Strossmayer, the Bishop of Bosnia and Servia, in order to bring him to silence? Or how the Pope quite seriously assured everyone who visited him that he felt he was infallible, precisely after the manner of that madman who considered himself to be God the Father? Or how—but, no, I will not relate all to the reader, as it would carry me away much too far; but I cannot pass over at least two of the many fundamental grounds brought forward in favour of the Infallibility, as one learns thereby in what manner and through whom the Infallibility came to be established. On the 14th of May, Bishop Pie, of Poitiers, brought forward a proof, and the following logic was actually accepted by the majority of the Council with immense enthusiasm: "The Pope," he exclaimed, "must be infallible, as Peter was crucified with his head downwards; consequently, then, the head of Peter bore the entire weight of his body. Now, the head of Peter is analogous with the Church of Christ, as also with the Pope. Thus, the latter sustains the entire Church, and as it can only be the infallible who sustains, and is not sustained, thus must the Pope be infallible." A beautiful argument, certainly, at which the reader will, no doubt, be sufficiently astonished; but not less original was the second theory, which

had the honour of having for its father Archbishop Dusmet, of the island of Sicily: "We Sicilians," spoke the dignitary mentioned, also on the 14th of May, "have a particular ground for believing the infallibility of all the Popes. The apostle Peter preached, as is known, upon our island, upon which he found a number of Christians, and, as he declared that he was infallible, they found the matter surprising, because it never had been previously communicated to them. In order to clear up the matter, they sent a deputation to the Virgin Mary, to demand of her whether she had heard anything of the infallibility of Peter. 'Certainly,' replied she, 'as-I myself was present when my son conferred this special privilege upon Peter, and I can recollect even the day and the hour perfectly well.' By such testimony the Sicilians felt themselves to be completely satisfied, and since then no one, throughout the whole island, has had the slightest doubt about the infallibility of the Pope."

In such fashion did the Archbishop of Catania plead for the new dogma of Papal Infallibility, and the reader may now know what to think of the majority of the Council. Let this be as it may, after a great number of the Fathers of the Council present had spoken, part for, and part against the Infallibility, the majority urged for a termination of the debate, and all the more strongly as the heat now began to be unbearable in Rome. It was now arranged that the "preliminary voting in private sitting" should be held on the 13th July, and at the same time it was decreed that "the decisive public voting in the presence of the Pope himself" should take place on the 18th of the same month. The preliminary voting, however, gave the following result: 450 voted for the infallibility of the Pope absolutely, with "Yes" (*placet*), while 88\* bishops absolutely with "No" (*non placet*);

\* Among these determined opponents of the Infallibility belonged especially:—Cardinal-Archbishop Prince von Schwarzenberg, of Prague; the Cardinal Archbishop Mathieu, of Besançon; Cardinal-Archbishop Rauscher, of Vienna; Archbishop Simon von Gran (Primate of Hungary); Prince Bishop Fürstenberg, of Olmütz; Archbishop Scherr, of Munich; Archbishop Deinlein, of Bamberg; Archbishop Wierzechycki, of Lemberg; Archbishop Darboy, of Paris; Archbishop Heinald, of Kalocsa; Bishop Rivet, of Dijon; Bishop Dupont des Loges, of Metz; Bishop Legat, of Trieste; Bishop Dupanloup, of Orleans; Bishop Ketteler, of Mayence; Bishop Strassmayer, of Bosnia and Servia; Bishop Jirsik, of Budweir; Prince Bishop Förster, of Breslau; Bishop Forwerk, of Leontopolis (Apostolic Vicar of Saxony); Bishop Clifton, of Clifford; Bishop Dobrilla-von Pola; Bishop Dinkel, of Augsburg; Bishop Eberhard, of Treves; Bishop Dours, of Soissons; Bishop Place, of Marseilles; Bishop Beckmann, of Osnabrück; Bishop Crements, of Ermeland; Bishop Ramzanowski, of Agathopolis (Provost of the Catholic part of the

conditionally with "Yes," however, or, as it may be expressed, "*Placet juxta modum*," that is, with the reservation that in the wording of the dogma *some* slight modification might be introduced—61 prelates voted; while 91 others, partly on the plea of indisposition, and partly on other grounds, though present, indeed, in Rome, did not attend the sitting, and 77 of them had already left Rome on account of the state of their health. Such was the result of the preliminary voting of the 18th July 1870; consequently it was now accurately known how the proper and public voting would turn out. On this account, 88 bishops of the opposition took their departure at once from Rome, in order that they might not be obliged to be present at the public voting; still, they did not commence their journey till they had first made a vain attempt, by sending a deputation to the Pope, with the object of turning him away from the unhappy dogma. The 18th of July advanced apace, and the Jesuits, with feverish activity, beat up for the sitting all the prelates still present in Rome, especially those who had voted conditionally. There were present in all 585, among whom were all the cardinals, with the exception of Prince Hohenlohe; 583 voted with "Yes" (*placet*), two prelates voted with "No" (*non placet*), namely, Bishop Riccio, of Cajazzo, and Bishop Fitzgerald, of Little-Rock, the latter with a truly stentorian voice. Thus the new dogma of the Infallibility of the Pope was accepted, almost unanimously, and Pius IX. had the unspeakable satisfaction of proclaiming it himself to the world.

It consists of an introduction and four chapters. It is stated, in the introduction, that as the gates of hell rise up refractorily, with daily-increasing hatred, against the foundations of the Church erected by God, it has become necessary to prescribe, according to the ancient and established faith of the Universal Church, the doctrine of the investiture, perpetual duration, and inner nature of the Holy Apostolic Primate, upon which rests the whole Church's strength and solidity, and contending against the same, to judge and condemn errors so pernicious to the Lord's flock.

The first chapter treats of the investiture of the Apostolic Primate in the person of the Holy Peter, and concludes with the following sentence: "Thus everyone who shall not affirm

Prussian Army in Berlin); Bishop Hefele, of Rottenburg; and Bishop Bourget, of Montreal,

that the holy apostle Peter was invested by our Lord Christ as the most supreme of all apostles and visible head of the Church militant, or even shall allege that the same has received the Primacy directly and immediately from the Lord Christ, merely as an honour and not in actual and particular jurisdiction—he shall be accursed.”

The second chapter treats of the uninterrupted continuance of the Primacy of Peter in the Popes of Rome, and concludes with the sentence: “Whoever shall say that there exists no investiture by the Lord Christ himself, and no divine right by which the Holy Peter has uninterrupted successors in the Primacy over the whole Church, or that the Pope of Rome is not the successor of the Holy Peter in every individual Primacy—let him be accursed.”

The third chapter treats of the condition and nature of the Primacy of the Pope of Rome, and concludes with the sentence: “Whoever shall say that the Pope of Rome has merely the office of supervision and guidance, not, however, the complete and supreme jurisdiction over the whole Church, in matters which relate to faith and manners, as well as to discipline and the government of the Church extending over the whole globe, or that he has only a prominent part, not, however, the complete fulness of this supreme power, or that this, his power, is not regular and direct, be it over all and every individual church, or all and every individual flock and believer—let him be accursed.”

The fourth chapter, lastly, treats of the Ministry of the Popes of Rome, and concludes with the following paragraphs: “This gift of truth and never-wavering faith has been accorded to Peter, and to his successors in the Holy See, by the dispensation of God, in order that they may exercise their sublime office for the weal of all, the whole flock of Christ being thereby guarded from the poisonous allurements of errors, and nourished with the food of heavenly teaching, so that, putting aside every opportunity of schism, the whole Church may remain as one, and firmly persevere and keep its position against the gates of hell. Seeing that, however, in these times, when people stand much in need of the wholesome reality of the Holy Office, not a few are to be found who wish to do away with that authority, we thus hold it to be imperatively neces-

sary solemnly to assert the prerogative with which the only begotten Son of God has had the grace to endow the supreme Pastoral office. Therefore, in true dependence on the tradition which springs from the commencement of Christian belief, to the glory of God, our Redeemer, to the elevation of the Catholic religion, and to the weal of Christian peoples, we teach, with the approval of the Holy Council, and declare as a divine and revealed dogma, that the Pope of Rome, when he speaks *ex cathedrâ*, that is, when in his office as pastor and teacher of all Christians, according to his supreme apostolical character, he defines a doctrine to be firmly maintained by the whole Church, concerning faith and manners, as the divinely promised succour of the Holy Peter has been accorded to him, as regards that Infallibility with which the Divine Redeemer wished to endow his Church—therefore, such-like utterances of the Pope of Rome, proceeding from himself, are to be considered unchangeable, without requiring the approval of the Church. Thus, anyone who dares to contradict this our definition, which God forbid, let him be accursed."

Thus ran the new dogma of the Infallibility as it issued forth from the Jesuit editorial department, and the laughter of scorn was for ever raised among all society of any education. Not only, however, a laughter of scorn, but also a cry of anger, as one could not conceal from one's self that what had been dogmatised at the last Council, that is, declared to be a divine truth, must bring about the most prodigious consequences.

What is, indeed, the quintessence of the Infallibility doctrine? Nothing else than the following: "There exists on earth only one single Lord, the representative of God, and he rules over Kings as well as subjects, nations as well as families. In respect to him, there is no right and no law, but all Christian mankind are his slaves. There is one and only one reservation; the bishops, who are upper slaves, may, in the name of the Pope, rule freely in their dioceses so far as he appoints; the other class, however, the rulers and their subjects, are his entire slaves and must simply obey."

But in what way? Does not the new dogma teach that not only the Pope, for the time being, has become infallible, but that everyone of his predecessors was endued with like powers, and that thus, all the doctrines and precepts of former Popes



must be looked upon as divine truths? Most certainly such is the case; and pray, what did the former Popes teach?

Leo X. proclaimed, with the approval of the fifth Council of Lateran, the following three points as holy truths of faith:

"In the first place, the entire body of the clergy is, according to Divine right, exempt from all civil power, and has not only no obligation as a subject, but may not be bound in conscience by secular commands. Secondly, wherever a State law stands in contradiction to a regulation of the Church, it is only the latter which is binding; the former being inoperative or invalid. Thirdly, before everything, all the State laws are invalid which compel the clergy to be amenable to secular tribunals, and to bear State burdens. One may, from necessity, submit to them outwardly, but they are not binding inwardly."

Thus far Leo X.; but what did Boniface VIII. teach in his infamous Bull *Unam Sanctam*, and Paul IV. in his Bull *Ex Apostolatus Officio*? Now, according to them, the Pope is absolute lord and master of all people, supreme judge of all monarchs and monarchies, as also head of all Christians in the world; and to him is power given to declare every ruler or prince who is not steadfast to the faith, or, as may be better said, obedient to the Pope, to be deprived of his lands and possessions.

"Yes, indeed," writes the distinguished Döllinger, "the fulness of power to which the Popes, from the time of Gregory VII. have laid claim, is quite boundless and undeniable; it can penetrate over all, wherever, as Innocent III. says, there is sin, and can call everyone to account with sovereign caprice; it tolerates no appeal, as the Pope, according to the utterance of Boniface VIII., carries all rights in the shrine of his breast; in other words, the tribunal of God and of the Pope is one and the same."

But even this was not by any means sufficient, for the Popes of the sixteenth, seventeenth, eighteenth, and nineteenth centuries have declared that all non-Catholics, one with another, more especially Protestants, have, through baptism, equally become their subjects, and must, as rebels, be brought back again to obedience by force.

"Yes, indeed, Protestantism must be conquered, or, where possible, annihilated and extirpated, and the idea of toleration,

equality of religions, or freedom of conscience, is to be condemned to the lowest hell."

This was Papal teaching from the beginning, and this doctrine the dogmatising of the Syllabus proclaimed afresh. What is there in prospect for us, according to the resolutions of the Council? Nothing but religious strife and contention; perhaps, indeed, a new edition of the Thirty Years' war. One may laugh now over it, as an impossibility; but did not people smile also when the Jesuits proclaimed the warlike resolutions of the Council of Trent, which they had instituted? Formerly, of all Germany, the eighth, or perhaps the tenth part, was actually Catholic. But Canisius and his associates travelled quite quietly from one bishop's see to another, and their brethren, the rest of the sons of Loyola, followed them. They carried on their operations, at first, secretly, and concealed in secular clothing; gradually they found an entrance, in addition to princely Courts, into a couple of families, as well as into a couple of cloisters, and from these into a couple of pulpits; then they possessed themselves of one or other school classes, and after a few years they opened an educational institution; lastly, they took care that, on the one hand the cathedral, and on the other the Court and official appointments, should be filled by their pupils; and, behold! in the course of forty years, Germany was again Catholicised to the extent of two fifths. But with this, even, the sons of Loyola were not content, for they wished to eradicate Protestantism entirely, and then began the most terrible of all contests, a religious war, which lasted as long as full thirty years. It did not, it is true, bring about what the Jesuits wanted and hoped for, namely, the annihilation of Protestantism; but it gave to Catholicism a largely increased development, and, by the Westphalian peace, religious liberty was a thing of the past wherever the sons of Loyola had nestled themselves. Though, indeed, Protestant science has made, it is true, great conquests, yet the Jesuits, too, have gained ground. By inactivity, the Protestant dominion has more and more decreased, while the sway of Catholicism has been continually extending, and this has almost entirely been produced through the exertions of the Society.

Taking everything into consideration, one should not depart with a haughty smile at the circumstance of the Jesuits causing

the Pope, in the Syllabus, to declare war afresh against the Protestants? Yes; they gave themselves no rest until the Syllabus was dogmatised, that is, until it was raised to be an irreversible article of faith, and consequently necessitates all faithful Catholics to hate and persecute the Protestant heretics. Thus, assuredly, there may be a haughty smile, if not an out and out explosion of laughter; but, still, the weather-glass of the last resolutions of Council indicates a storm. Moreover, to take a comprehensive view of the matter, the sons of Loyola are not by any means content, but, at the last Council, they arranged, forsooth, that war should be declared against all existing States. Yes, indeed, the dogmatising of the Syllabus had, and has, no other object than the obstruction and suppression of the free tendencies of modern times, particularly as they have taken root in Germany, for these notions do not accord with mediæval ideas, which are to be afresh aroused from the grave. But how? Does not the Syllabus conclude with the declaration that all are condemned who consider as possible and desirable the reconciliation of the Pope with modern civilisation? Are not the constitutional liberties which the rulers of our day accord to their subjects—as the liberty of the press, and equality in the eyes of the law—expressly and especially condemned? Has not the Pope declared from his infallible chair, on the 22nd July 1868, that, by virtue of the care he has over all the Churches entrusted to him by Christ, he curses the fundamental law of Austria as an abomination (*infanda*)? Has he not especially cursed the horrible laws (*abominandæ*) which vouchsafe to all State citizens freedom of opinion, freedom of the press, and freedom of belief; and has he not cursed them on account of this, that the education of children of mixed marriages is regulated according to the principles of equality of confession, the corpses of heretics (Protestants), whenever they have no burial ground of their own, being interred in the Catholic precincts? Has he not pronounced as an article of faith that all laws of that kind are contrary to the constitution and authority of the Church and the Papal power, and that they must be looked upon by all good Catholics as completely invalid and without any force whatever?

Certainly the resolutions of the Council were regarded as quite monstrous, and the indignation felt thereat among people

of education was but too well founded. The more that sensible and clear-sighted persons were filled with indignation, and partly, also, with fear, the louder did the Jesuits rejoice, as henceforth they considered themselves to be all-powerful. The doctrine of the Infallibility was their own doctrine, and as it had now been raised to the dignity of a dogma, this was nothing else than to say, "Whatever the Jesuits teach is alone truly Catholic." In other words, their victory proclaimed to the world that Jesuitism and Catholicism were henceforth identical, and consequently it was not so much the Pope, properly speaking, who was infallible, but the Society of Jesus. Did there not lie therein justification for this exultation? But the sons of Loyola were not content alone with rejoicing; they were also desirous of displaying their power, by showing at once they were in a position to bring back into the world the spirit of mediæval times, in the shape of the Syllabus, confirmed, as it had been, by the Council on oath. Yes, indeed, mediæval times shall return, and, above all, his mediæval territory shall be given back to the Pope. Such territory had, indeed, in the years 1859 and 1860, suffered a very considerable diminution, in consequence of the war between Austria and Italy, the latter being in alliance with France; and matters were still worse in 1870, on the outbreak of the Franco-German campaign, when the French saw themselves compelled to withdraw their garrison from Rome. What then did the Italian Government do? Very naturally, in order to make the union of all Italy complete, they took away also the remainder of the States of the Church, and at length firmly established themselves in Rome itself. This was, indeed, imperatively necessary, in order to satisfy the Italians, since the inhabitants of Rome, as well as of the Roman States, demanded it, as they had long been heartily tired of the sad Papal misrule. Moreover, there was not a single European State that made any remonstrance, and still less was there anywhere an inclination to draw the sword in favour of the Pope. The rage, however, which filled the Pope, as well as his trusted friends the Jesuits, was beyond all bounds, and His Holiness loudly exclaimed against the impious spoliation. But the protest was of no avail, and as little was the curse which was soon to follow. It was thus perceived that another plan must be adopted,

namely, that of force, as without compulsion the Italian Government would not yield. Yet, whence shall this practical aid come? France, once so powerful, had just been, as it were, stricken to the ground, in such a way that it would require very many years in order for it to assume again its former position. Not much better was Austria situated, as it had engaged in the war of 1866, and there could be no question, therefore, of any warlike action in favour of the Pope. Then the smaller Catholic States, I mean the kingdoms of Spain and Portugal, did not possess the power to enter into such an undertaking, and Russia was not at all to be thought of, from its notoriously unfriendly disposition towards Rome.\* There remained, therefore, only one single power which might set up the Pope again in his lost dominions, and that State was Prussia, or rather the German Empire. It was perfectly certain that the German Empire possessed the power of doing this, as no other empire could compare with it, and it stood to reason that the much weaker Italy would not be so bold as to attempt any resistance to so powerful a rival. It consequently became a question to move the Government of the German Emperor to condescend to make an intervention in favour of the Pope, and to accomplish this appeared to the sons of Loyola to be an easy matter. For, naturally, the Catholic Church had, up to this time, enjoyed even greater privileges in Prussia than in the Catholic States themselves, while the extension of the Jesuits in that country tended to facilitate matters. One has only to think of the many Jesuit schools on the Rhine, and in Posen, of which I will merely mention those of Posen, Schrimm, Maria Laach, Paderborn, Cologne, Coblenz, Mayence, Gorheim, Bonn, Aix la Chapelle, and Münster. One has only to bring to remembrance the excessive number of unions, sodalities, and congregations which they had called into existence, even under the eyes of the authorities, in order to govern by means of them the whole Catholic population of Germany.† One has only to bear in memory their great protector, the Prussian

\* The Pope himself must bear the blame of this unfriendliness, in that he had allowed himself to be led on by the Jesuits to stir up underhand the Poles to revolt against the Russian Government, supporting them in other ways, if not with money.

† These unions and sodalities had often very peculiar names, and at one time called themselves "union of labourers," at another of companions, of youths, of maidens, of temperance; sometimes also chastity unions

Minister of Public Worship, Von Mühler, who satisfied their every wish, before they had even themselves expressed one. Certainly, then, the Jesuits had a ground for hoping that the Government of William I. might not be disinclined towards an intervention in the affairs of the patrimony of Peter, as Catholic efforts were especially in favour thereof, and they got up at once a number of petitions, all of which had the same object—re-establishment of the Pope in his lost dominion. Care was also taken that highly influential names should be attached to these petitions, as, for instance, the whole of the Silesian Catholic nobility, and the entire Association of the Maltese Order of the Knights of St. John. Indeed, even the Prussian Catholic bishops with their chapters were included in such a petition; and the great Archbishop Ledochowski of Gnesen and Posen consented to deliver the same in person to the German Emperor at Versailles. The result of these petitions, however, was by no means reassuring, as Prince Bismarck did not give them in the least any approval, but expressed his opinion, with sufficient clearness, to the effect that the interference in the affairs of foreign States was quite adverse to German interests. Had, then, the petitioners been wise, they would have been satisfied on the subject, but the Jesuits looked upon themselves as too powerful to draw back; and, consequently, they at once had resort to other means. With this view they hastened to exert a pressure on the Imperial Government, through the German Parliament. It was a question before everything, therefore, to get up a strong party in the Parliament; and as with the year 1871—it being, as was well known, the first year after of the constitution of the Empire—the elections were to come on, the Jesuits, entering in full force into the conflict, urged the whole clergy of Germany, who through the bishops were more or less subservient to them (the

All, however, had a settled organisation, and were hierarchically conjoined. The most widely extended were the Rosicrutians, whose members, almost entirely composed of male and female servants, were commissioned to keep an eye upon their masters, to report respecting them, and to work upon them religiously. Their organisation might, indeed, be termed almost military, and the strictest discipline was preserved among them. Fifteen persons of the same sex formed a rose, eleven roses a tree of God, and fifteen God's trees a garden of the most Holy Virgin Mary. All these grades were placed under a Jesuit Father, or, at least, under the guidance of some ecclesiastic who was a blind tool of the Jesuits. The members, however, who distinguished themselves, or showed special zeal, obtained the most ample absolution.

cause thereof has been already discussed), to give their votes. It turned out, to the joy of the Jesuits, that a tolerable number of Ultramontanes were elected by their pledged friends, especially in Bavaria, in Posen, and on the Rhine, wherever, indeed, the Catholic population were in a majority.\* The parsons made use of their pulpits to proclaim to their confessing children that, if one did not wish to endanger the welfare of his soul, he must strive solely for the election of good Catholic men as members of Parliament, the problem being to influence the Imperial Government, with the view of bringing about an intervention in favour of the Pope. When the Parliament opened in March 1871, these gentlemen formed themselves into a very determined faction, which got the name of the "Faction of the Centre" (if these gentlemen had been honest they would have called themselves the "Jesuitical Faction," for they allowed themselves notoriously to be blindly led by those of the leaders of that party within the Catholic Church who were generally known to be affiliated to and associated with Romish Jesuitism), and at once recommended themselves to the Imperial Government as the rock of defence for the Conservative interests of Germany. Yes, indeed, they sang again the old song, the refrain of which was that a strict and well-regulated Government could only be supported by them, because they alone were capable of offering an effective opposition to the revolutionary ideas of the times. Their intention, consequently, was to render tractable the Imperial Government, as they had in bygone days influenced former Governments, especially in the reactionary period which succeeded the downfall of the first Napoleonic Empire; but it was soon apparent what was the real aim after which they were striving. It was nought else but to revive the old, long-interred claims of the Papacy, and not only to stir up strife again, but also to raise afresh the contention between ecclesiastical and secular power. Above all, they wished to force the Imperial Government to intervene in favour of the Pope, and the recovery of his former worldly possessions, and with this desire they

\* Against elections of that kind frequent protest was made, especially from Cologne. In regard, indeed, to some elections, the petition from Cologne runs thus:—"Fanatical fury raged from the pulpits of almost all the Catholic churches, and heaven and eternal happiness were on the one side, hell and everlasting damnation on the other, according as the voting was exercised."

pretty frequently came forward with their counsels and addresses. Indeed, they unhesitatingly expressed themselves to the effect that the German Emperor ought to follow in the footsteps of his predecessor, who looked to Rome for the Imperial Crown, and recognised the duty of standing by the Papacy in all its troubles, as truly obedient servants. But what a storm of displeasure did they call forth, as well among the majority of the Parliament as also in the Imperial Government itself. I will not further dilate on the subject, but merely repeat the words of an individual member of Parliament. Thus spake Deputy von Bennigsen :—

“The name of the German Emperor and Empire is involuntarily connected with the recollection of the great and eventful battles which the ruler of Germany formerly waged with the Roman Church and the kingdom of Italy, not as Emperor of Germany, but as Emperor of Rome, having, as such, claims upon the Imperial succession. Our task, however, is to leave no doubt henceforth that by far the greater majority—indeed, an overwhelming majority—of the German people and their representatives is entirely adverse to the Imperial Government entering again upon the old mistaken policy of German Church politics. What advantage did it bring us? The perpetual devastation of Italy, and the political impotence and internal disintegration of Germany. And now we come again upon efforts in Parliament to lead German politics back into such an injurious groove, upon efforts which must once more call similar contentions into existence. Our essential business lies henceforth in this ; that at the very first moment when the German Emperor assembles around him the first German Parliament, he should erect a beacon distinctly visible to all far and near, internally as well as externally, that in future German politics shall be restricted to the internal requirements of the State, and that they shall no more be directed to interference with the affairs of foreign nations.”

Thus spoke Deputy von Bennigsen, and as the great majority of his colleagues agreed with him in his opinions, the following passage in the Address was adopted :

“The severe distress which France suffers to-day, confirms the often-witnessed fact, which never fails to bring punishment in its rear, that in the circle of civilised peoples even the



mightiest nation only remains safe from serious complications by a wise limitation in the development of its internal economy. Even Germany has, in a degree, received the seeds of decay by intermeddling in the affairs of other nations, when the rulers followed the traditions of a foreign origin. The new Empire has sprung up from the self-elevating spirit of the people, which, armed for defence, is invariably devoted to the work of peace. In intercourse with foreign peoples, Germany demands for its citizens nothing more than the consideration which right and custom require, and, not misled either by aversion or inclination, does not grudge to any nation the way towards unity, or to any State that it should, after its own manner, find the best form for its constitution. The days have gone by for the interference in the internal affairs of other nations, never, we hope, again to return under any pretext or in any form whatever."

This was clearly and distinctly expressed, and, consequently, the pressure of the Jesuitical party for Government interference in favour of the Pope was once for all powerless. The rage of the Jesuitical Ultramontane party can now be readily imagined, and it was at once resolved to make war against the German Empire. Not, however, of course, a war with cannon and needle-guns, but a contest with spiritual and ecclesiastical weapons. The whole Catholic Church in Germany, in respect to all Catholic inhabitants of the new Empire, should unite their powers, and thereby compel the Imperial Government to diverge in another direction. They did not, however, proceed in a straightforward way, but slowly and gradually, creeping along with cat-like steps. Their object was to begin by undermining, and only to storm and capture the fortress when its foundations had been sapped.

First of all, however, it was necessary to establish complete unity in their own camp before commencing their operations, as if such were not attained, that is, if the leaders and heads of the Church found that there were individuals who would not give in their adherence to the Jesuitical Ultramontane party, then might the Imperial Government place their reliance on such a split, and, consequently, a division might be brought to pass which would render victory impossible. "Unity, unity," was the cry, then, of the Jesuits to those bishops who had voted in the Council against the Papal infallibility, and they, at the same time,

threatened them with the Papal excommunication and interdict if they carried their opposition as far as schism. On the other hand, they admonished the "truly disposed," that is, the prelates who had held by the Jesuitical Popish party at the Council, to issue a general pastoral letter to the German clergy, and in this to exhort everybody to accept the resolutions of the Council, and believe them to be divine revelations. The "truly disposed," therefore, assembled together in Fulda in August 1870, in order to determine upon a general pastoral; and it was a matter of endless rejoicing to the Jesuits that the "truly disposed" were here joined by several deserters from the opposition camp—for instance, by Bishop Ketteler of Mayence, Archbishop Scherr of Munich, Bishop Dinkel of Augsburg, and Bishop Cremenz of Ermeland.

Thus it happened that the pastoral letter, which declared "that the last Vatican Council was regular and general, and, consequently, that its resolutions were binding on all believers, by virtue of the publication thereof, made, in the most solemn manner, by the Supreme Head of the Church in the public sitting of the 18th July 1870, and that, therefore, all bishops, priests, and believers ought to accept these resolutions with steadfast faith as divinely-revealed truths, and must adopt and acknowledge them if they desired to remain true members of the one holy, catholic, and apostolic Church," was subscribed by all the German Princes of the Church, namely, by Gregory (Scherr), Archbishop of Munich-Freising; Paul (Melchers), Archbishop of Cologne; Peter Joseph, Bishop of Limburg; Christopher Florentius, Bishop of Fulda; William Emanuel (Ketteler), Bishop of Mayence; Edward Jacob, Bishop of Hildesheim; Conrad (Martin), Bishop of Paderborn; Johannes, Bishop of Culm; Ignatius (Senestrey), Bishop of Ratisbon; Pancratius (Dinkel), Bishop of Augsburg; Francis Leopold (Leonrod), Bishop of Eichstadt; Matthias (Eberhard), Bishop of Treves; Philippus (Cremenz), Bishop of Ermeland; Lothar, Administrator of the Bishopric of Freiburg; Adolphus (Namszanowski), Bishop of Agathopolis, Chaplain-General of the Prussian Army; Bernard (Brinkmann), Bishop of Münster; and Konrad (Reither), Bishop of Speyer.

Had not, then, an immensity been thus attained? Certainly unity had been well-nigh accomplished, while the few who had still not given in their submission, as, for instance, the Arch-

bishop of Bamberg, and the Bishops of Rottenburg, Breslau, Würzburg, and Passau, could not possibly withstand, in the long run, the pressure put upon them by their fellow functionaries. Certainly they must also, sooner or later, orally acknowledge the resolutions of the Council as divinely-revealed truths, as they would otherwise run the risk of being removed by the Pope from their Bishopsrics, and to such a danger they would not, of course, subject themselves. No, certainly, that would, indeed, be too much to expect, to exchange so high an office as that of a Bishop for a mere article of faith; and thus the sons of Loyola succeeded, without much difficulty, in enticing completely into the Ultramontane camp even the last remains of the German opposition to the Council.

The first who came over was the most highly esteemed Prince Archbishop of Breslau, Dr. Henry Förster, not openly, it is true, before all the world, but secretly, by night, and in a mist; and as a reason for this falling off from the former recognised truth, he afterwards gave out that he did not wish to disturb the "unity of the Church." Bishop Henry of Passau followed him, and then came Archbishop Deinlein of Bamberg. The last was Bishop Hefele of Rottenberg, and he also could assign no other ground for his change of opinion than that the unity of the Church could not at any price be disturbed. Along with this he spoke much of humility and submission, but he did not mention a single syllable as regards a man's duty to sacrifice his place, even be it the office of Bishop, for the sake of the truth.

This was the first victory which the Jesuits gained, after which they resolved to accept battle with the German Empire; and they proceeded, therefore, to commence the fight. Against whom, however, should the first blow be aimed? Naturally against the German universities—"those heretical nests and devilish institutions," as they themselves loved to call them, and, especially, against the Catholic theological faculties therein, as the latter were most hated by the Jesuits. For, of course, science flourished at the universities, therefore free thinking and free investigation; and hence resulted the most violent opposition to Jesuitical doctrines. Naturally enough, seeing that the future spiritual guides and instructors of youth were formed by the Catholic theological faculties, and the professors could not, in the nature of things, have any desire to

regulate their lectures according to the infallible principles of Gregory VII., Paul IV., Boniface VIII., and Pius IX., or even after the pattern of the Syllabus, now also declared infallible! Shall this any longer be tolerated? No, indeed; for they, the Jesuits, wished alone to instruct the future spiritual guides and teachers. No, indeed; for the dogmas, morals, and exercises of the Society must be for the future alone instilled into the youthful students; and, therefore, away with the professors who stand upon the platform of modern science. Away with them, as, indeed, they were all heretics as long as they did not absolutely acknowledge the Infallibility dogma! Yet how were they to come in contact with the professors? They still held their positions from their respective Governments, and were only responsible to the latter. One could only, indeed, hound on the bishops against them, to, first of all, threaten them with the necessary ecclesiastical censure, and then, when there was nothing else for it, falling back upon curse and excommunication. But as regards the bishops, might one dare to hope that, in this way, they would set themselves into collision with the State authorities? Indeed, a renegade always becomes a zealot, and the Princes of the Church, who had recently thrown themselves into the arms of the Jesuits, must still prove to their converters that they were heart and soul all for them. O Lord! one would have taken them, indeed, for miserable dissemblers if they did not proceed with fire and sword; and then the sons of Loyola might be certain that the thoroughly persuaded Fallibilitists of yesterday would prove themselves to be the most intolerant Infallibilitists of to-day. Yes, indeed, of this they ventured to be certain, and the first to prove the correctness of their surmises was the Prince Bishop of Breslau, the above-named Doctor Henry Förster. As soon as he had been gained over by the sons of Loyola, he demanded of the professors of the University of Breslau, as well as those of the Mathias Gymnasium, to declare themselves, whether they recognised the resolutions of the Council, as well as the infallibility of the Pope, and the dogmatising of the Syllabus. Four of those gentlemen at once replied directly and publicly in the negative. These were Canon and Cathedral Scholastic D. Baltzer, Professor of Church History, D. Reinkens,

private teacher of philosophy and religious doctrine to the Mathias Gymnasium, D. Weber, and the Director of the Mathias Gymnasium, D. Reisacker. What did the Bishop do then? First of all, he decreed the *suspensio ab ordine* over them, that is, he declared them to be no longer fit to administer their offices if they did not immediately recall their heresy, and, as they hesitated to do so, he threatened them with excommunication. Still further, his princely Grace, the highly-esteemed Lord Bishop, vouchsafed to forbid the pupils of his Boys' Seminary (the future teachers and schoolmasters) to visit the Mathias Gymnasium; all theological students, especially the pupils of his community, he threatened with immediate expulsion if they should any longer attend the lectures of the professors mentioned. Therewith he cried down the latter, who still held their appointments from the State, and it now came to be a question as to whether the Government would tolerate such an attack upon their rights. It could not, of course, submit thereto, and the Minister of Religion declared that the professors should continue to deliver their lectures.

But with this the war which had broken out was still far from a termination, and the Bishop adhered to his above-named prohibition, and neither dare the seminarists of the Mathias Gymnasium, nor the monks of the community, attend the lectures of a Reinkens, Baltzer, and Weber. He refrained, however, without doubt, from carrying into effect the threat of excommunication, as he feared himself to prosecute the conflict to the utmost. In just such a way as the Prince Bishop of Breslau, did Archbishop Melchers of Cologne also act, as he prohibited the students in Bonn from attending the lectures of the theological professors Hilgers, Reusch, and Langen, seeing that they had fallen into sad heresy by not recognising the Infallibility dogma. Consequently, he wished to make it an impossibility for the same divines to lecture any more, and, on that account, he must needs, also, as a matter of course, run counter to the State Government. The professors, in regard to this, continued to work as teachers just as before, but, on the other hand, the Bishop, too, adhered to his prohibition, and even ventured to make it more severe, so that Messieurs Hilgers, Reusch, and Langen saw themselves compelled to lecture to bare walls. The Lord Archbishop, however, as little dared to carry excommuni-

cation into effect as had been the case with the Prince Bishop of Breslau, and merely the threat thereof remained to the fore. The third spiritual Prince who brought theological professors on the scene was Archbishop Scherr of Munich-Freysing; and after he had received his instructions from the sons of Loyola, he demanded the theological faculty of the University of Munich to intimate to him their position in regard to the resolutions of the Council of the Vatican, and as to their submission thereto. Not a single one of the professors had any desire to do so, but, after long consideration, the most of them resigned themselves as to the matter, and simply on this account, as it might be perceived, that they had no wish to come into conflict with the ecclesiastical power of the Lord Archbishop. They wished to continue to teach in peace, as they had hitherto done, and thus said "Yes, in God's name," to the question of the Infallibility.

Not so, however, did the distinguished theologians Doctors Döllinger, Huber, and Friedrich, hitherto the great support of Catholicism, as they declared they would never recognise the dogma, which they considered contrary to reason, tradition, and Biblical teaching, and they remained firm even when threatened with excommunication by the Archbishop. Indeed, the conclusion came to by all reasonable and honest men among Catholics was that Catholicism, founded upon the resolutions of the Vatican Council, was nothing else than a "New Catholicism," a heretical deviation from the true Catholic faith, and they henceforth called themselves "Old Catholics." An uncommon number of men of the cultivated classes, namely, all Catholic Professors of Medicine, Jurisprudence, Philosophy, and Philology at the University of Munich, ranged themselves on their side, and a commotion arose the end of which could not be measured. So-called Old Catholic unions formed themselves in almost all the provinces of Germany, especially in the larger towns, where the Catholic population predominated; in a few weeks these increased to communities, and as such appointed their own parsons\*; thus there was schism, and, of course, excommuni-

\* Old Catholicism took its origin after that Dr. Döllinger (Stiftsprobst) had given his celebrated declaration to the Archbishop of Munich-Freysing, in which the following passage occurs:—"Thousands of the clergy, and hundreds of thousands of the laity think as I do, and look upon the new articles of faith as unacceptable. Up to to-day not a single person, even among those who have given in a declaration of submission to it, has said

oation could no longer be deferred. Moreover, it is worthy of remark that when Archbishop Scherr intimated to Professors Döllinger, Friedrich, and Huber that they had been excommunicated on account of open heresy and non-recognition of the Infallibility dogma, the communication still remained private, and the excommunication was not publicly proclaimed from the pulpit. No! no public and direct excommunication took place, but the Archbishop caused it to be intimated indirectly among the clergy that all those who denied obedience to the Vatican resolutions thereby excluded themselves from the community of the Holy Catholic Church, and must bear the consequences thereof. As now the supreme spiritual shepherds in Breslau, Bonn, and Munich had thus proceeded against the universities, so also did their inferior colleagues follow suit, with only very few exceptions, and proceeded with even greater severity against all the minor clergy who dared to have any doubt respecting the Infallibility dogma. It was, indeed, an unsurpassed piece of arrogance if any poor parson or chaplain rebelled against his lord and ruler, the most esteemed bishop, and such presumption could not be otherwise punished than by deposition. Thus, ultimately, the Archbishop of Cologne declared as deposed Parson Tangermann of Unkel; the Bishop of Augsburg, Parson Renstle in Mering; the Bishop of Ermeland, Parson Michelis at Braunsberg; the Archbishop of Munich, Parson Bernard of Kiefersfelden, as well as Parson Hosemann of Tuntent-

that he is convinced of the truth of the proposition. All of my friends and acquaintances affirm to me as having the like experience. 'Not a single person believes in it,' I hear daily said from every mouth." To this declaration various men from all ranks of society at once adhered, among them high officials and civil officers like Deputy Inspector von Wolf, Head Master of Ceremonies Count von Bray, Count Ludwig Arco Walley, the great brewer Ludwig Brey, the Appeal Councillor von Enhuber, Mint Assayer von Schauss, and others; together, in April 1871, they protested against the Infallibility, and to them were added all those who were of a similar opinion in Augsburg, Vienna, Memmingen, Neustadt, Kaiserslautern, Bergszabern, Fürth, Bonn, Coblenz, Cologne, Würzburg, Freiberg, Traunstein, and elsewhere. The first step towards the formation of Old Catholic communities, having separate churches and parsons of their own, took place in Heidelberg in August 1871, at the assemblage of Old Catholics there, and forthwith such a community was formed in Munich. Other cities followed suit, and the number of such communities has now perhaps risen to about forty. However, we doubt whether Old Catholicism will attain to anything magnificent, as it only opposes the Infallibility, and does not venture in any way to attack other cancerous affections, as, for instance, oral confession, celibacy, indulgence, the Romish Primate, and especially the hierarchy. Is it, then, to be wondered at that the large masses stand aloof and remain indifferent, and that the whole of the lower clergy also, for the most part, take no interest in the movement?

hausen; the Prince Archbishop of Breslau, Parson Buchmann in Canth; the Bishop of Ratisbon, Parson Max Hort in Straubing; and the Bishop of Solothurn, Parson Egli at the Penitentiary of Lucerne; and nominated other spiritual advisers in room of those deposed. They were of opinion that they had the whole of the inferior clergy completely in their power, as in the Middle Ages, and they could do with them as they pleased. But, behold! the parsons declared to be deposed did not stir from their posts, being altogether supported by the communities to which they belonged. What was now to be done? Why, my Lords Bishops did not, of course, deliberate long about the matter. They addressed themselves to the secular authorities, in order that force might be employed. They came, however, not as complaining in any way, or making a request; oh no! they "demanded" of the secular authorities, without anything further, that those parsons who had been declared deposed should be removed by force from their situations, in order that those newly nominated might take possession of the vacant posts. Yes, indeed, this they did, supporting their action on the 12th Canon de Ecclesia; that is, on the 12th Article respecting the Church, proclaimed by the Council of the Vatican, according to which the secular authorities had unhesitatingly to carry into effect the punishments awarded by the Ecclesiastical Courts. This, indeed, as a matter of course; for, according to the resolutions of the Council, the Church, that is, the Pope, was held to be altogether superior to the State power, and the latter had to carry out all its orders without asking any questions whatever! To their great alarm, however, the secular authorities did not trouble themselves any further to lend a helping hand to the bishops, but, on the contrary, they addressed themselves to the Ministry, and the latter in turn put the question to themselves, "Have the bishops, out of regard for the present Pope, the right to sequester the incomes of those parsons who adhere to the old doctrine, and assign the vacant posts to other ecclesiastics well affected towards the Infallibility dogma?"

They further asked themselves, "Are the funds, partly inherited from olden times, partly collected at assemblages, from adherents to the old faith, available (without any further question) for the benefit of the new religion and Church?"



Thirdly, they asked themselves, "Does it seem admissible that the new Catholic doctrine should be inculcated in the youth of the country precisely as the former creed, under the protection and authority of the State; especially, should the bringing up of teachers of the people, together with the conduct and supervision of schools for the people, be left in the hands of the Church which has recently become infallible?"

They further, lastly, asked themselves, "Can the established rights of the Catholic Church, as formerly constituted, after its transmutation into a new one, with an infallible Pope at its head, have any further claim upon the State?"

One sees that in addition to the questions thus raised there was still another one; for the tendency, so inimical to the State, of the bishops, led by the Jesuits, asserted itself always more distinctly and energetically, and the supreme government of the State had thus to say to itself, "We have the duty to maintain aright confessional peace and State authority."

The State, then, took up the gauntlet which the Jesuits, in the persons of the German bishops, had thrown down to them; but it did so only with the greatest foresight and forbearance, for at the head of Prussian religious administration stood Von Mühler, hitherto the great well-wisher to Ultramontane efforts. It went openly against his inclination to proceed with energetic measures, and he would rather have got rid of the matter by some small palliative means. Indeed, even from such he would have timidly receded, had he not been urged forward by Prince Bismarck. The latter, however, the statesman with an iron will, at once perceived that the authority of the Imperial power stood in danger if a limit were not put to the aggressive conduct of the sons of Loyola, and, with his accustomed energy, he hit upon a plan. Naturally, however, it was not in accordance with his views to cut through the knot with the sword, without further ado, but he proceeded wisely and sagaciously, step by step, trying at first to attain his end by peaceable means.

First of all, he was desirous to ascertain whether the Roman Curie approved the newest steps taken by the Jesuits, and he therefore brought to official notice in Rome the attitude of the Jesuitical Catholic faction in Parliament which, as we know, had pleaded for an intervention in favour of the Pope. Such action had, at all events, this effect, that the Cardinal

Secretary of State, in order not to injure his position with reference to the German Imperial power, unequivocally disapproved, in some degree, the action of the faction in question; but immediately afterwards he recalled this disapproval, and gave it as his opinion that he merely held it to be not opportune, or in accordance with the spirit of the time, if the Catholics at once placed a proposal for intervention before Parliament. He, indeed, straightforwardly declared that he admired the conduct of the faction of the centre, and that their proceedings had not less the fullest approval of the Pope. Prince Bismarck thus became aware that the Jesuits were acting in most complete understanding with the Roman Curie, and a step was at once taken on this occasion, on the part of the Prussian Administration of Religion, which showed to the Catholic bishops that it was not intended to submit to their pretensions.

During the government of Herr von Mühler, there had been a special department "for Catholic Church affairs," and the Director thereof was the Government Privy Counsellor, Dr. Krätzig, an associate of Bishop Ketteler, of Mayence, in the Parliamentary faction; the other two members of the Department, Messieurs Government Councillors Ulrick and Linhoff, were, if possible, even more favourable to Ultramontanism, and steered their course in everything according to the precepts of the sons of Loyola. So the whole management of Catholic affairs was entrusted to these three gentlemen, that they might rule according to their pleasure, as Herr von Mühler approved of all their proceedings. In what way did they govern, however? As a matter of course, in a manner which was diametrically opposed to the interests of the State, in that they played completely into the hands of adherents of the sons of Loyola, in regard to school instruction, as well as school supervision.

It had thus happened that the Jesuits had become, by degrees, almost all-powerful in Prussia, as we have formerly pointed out, and not the less had it resulted that this antagonism between Protestantism and Catholicism had assumed constantly a rougher aspect. But, lo! in July 1871, the news suddenly spread abroad that the department for Catholic Church matters in the Religious Administration, had been abolished; the three

members above mentioned having received their pensions. At first the report did not obtain credence, but the news was presently verified, and the first great step for the destruction of Jesuitical Ultramontanism had now taken place.

One may well imagine the anger of the bishops and their supreme guides, the sons of Loyola. They certainly could no longer entertain any doubt but that the iron Prince Bismarck wished to break down their power; but they held it to be impossible that he would ever be able to obtain the signature of the Prussian Monarch to the required enactment, because the latter had, up to the present time, himself shown forbearance in Catholic ecclesiastical matters. They, therefore, addressed themselves in an immediate petition to the said monarch, in which they urged that he should abstain from proceeding inimically against the Catholic Church; but they were simply repelled with the observation that in no other country in Europe, as the Pope had formerly acknowledged, did the Catholic Church possess a more favourable position than in Prussia, and that, on that account, it was all the more imperative for the State to reject presumptuous pretensions.

Rage now rose to its height in the Ultramontane camp, and to anger also succeeded consternation at the same time, as, at the beginning of November 1871, the Bavarian Plenipotentiaries placed a proposition before the German Diet, that they should lay before Parliament the following project of law:—

“Act relating to the completion of the Penal Law-Book for the German Empire.—We, William, by the Grace of God, German Emperor and King of Prussia, order the following, with the acquiescence of the Diet and of Parliament. Individual article. After para. 167 of the Penal Law-Book for the German Empire, the following new para. shall be inserted: ‘An ecclesiastic or other servant of religion, who, in the exercise of, or on occasion of the pursuit of his calling, publicly brings forward a subject for discussion before a crowd of people, or in a church, or in any other place destined for religious assemblages, in a way which seems calculated to disturb the public peace, shall be punished by imprisonment to the extent of two years.’”

This was the proposition which the Bavarian Plenipotentiaries placed before the Diet of the German Empire; and can one, therefore, be at all surprised that the Jesuits and Ultramontanes

were in the highest degree disturbed thereby? Good Catholic Bavaria, with its good Catholic Government, and such a proposition! This was, indeed, an attack upon the most holy rights of the clergy, for whom, hitherto, the pulpit had stood at their completely free disposal! God in Heaven! that was, indeed, unheard of! Hitherto, anyone might agitate and insult from the pulpit, at his pleasure, without a soul whatever, even in the highest position, being able to say a word! Yes, indeed, it had hitherto been thus, and, at the last Parliamentary elections, the Jesuitically-minded ecclesiastics, by thundering words from the pulpit, had gained the victory for a goodly number of Ultramontane candidates. But this misuse of the pulpit was not any longer to be tolerated—a misuse which, in Bavaria especially, had by degrees become quite insufferable. As a proof of this I will only adduce a few instances.

Joseph Bergmeier, Parson of Geisenhausen, had declared from the pulpit, "Hohenlohe is a Prussian rogue." Another Catholic parson called the Bavarian ministers and deputies, "simpletons and debauchees." A third exclaimed, "Your deputies wish to give you Jewish fellows as teachers; they desire to establish brothels throughout the whole land, and to rob you of the blessings of marriage." A fourth proclaimed from his pulpit: "If the school law passes, then your children will be taught by Jewish fellows to despise the Saviour, as once upon a time the Jews did in Jerusalem. And the parents will even be punished if they call 'Hepp! Hepp! Hepp!' after the Jewish fellows." A fifth preached from the cathedral of Ratisbon: "The Emperor, as King, has command only over the body, but the Church holds sway over both body and soul, and therefore the Church can even release the people from the oaths they have sworn to the princes." A sixth, a bishop, thus expressed himself before a large assemblage, on a confirmation journey: "We live in sad times; we are called Ultramontanes and Reactionaries; this condition can only be put an end to by war and revolution. We keep secular laws merely because power supports them, and we should be seized by the throat were we to act otherwise. If kings no longer consider themselves acting by the grace of God, I would be the first to overturn the throne." A seventh—but enough of examples, as, from those already given, everyone must be convinced that there

need be, in the German Empire, protection—legal protection, indeed—against such misuse of the pulpit by the Catholic clergy. The proposition of Bavaria was, on this account, accepted almost unanimously by the Diet, and not the less passed through Parliament with *éclat*. The Ultramontanes now, to be sure, raised the most piteous complaints all over the German Empire, and at once declared religion to be in danger; but, in spite of all this, the new law was proclaimed accordingly, and soon displayed its blissful operation. I say blissful, as the chief thing was that now insults ceased to be given from the pulpit, as the clerical gentry had no desire to make closer acquaintance with prison cells.

From what has been already related, it must have become sufficiently apparent that the German Government was not indifferent to the arrogant pretensions of my Lord Bishops and their wire-pullers; still anything energetic and effectual could not be carried out as long as Herr von Mühler remained at the head of the Ministry of Religion. He was, indeed, notoriously the drag upon all progress in ecclesiastical as well as educational matters, and if he even consented to the innovations urged upon him by Prince Bismarck, it only happened as it were by way of compulsion. Besides, what did individual crumbs signify as long as the whole system hitherto obtaining was not broken through? Herr von Mühler at length perceived that he was no longer suitable for the new era of the German Empire, and as he became aware that all the liberal sections of the House of Parliament were determined to vote in plain terms a want of confidence in him, he tendered his resignation to his King at the beginning of the month of January 1872. This request was at once accepted, without further ado, and it was felt through all Prussia—indeed, over the whole of Germany—that freedom from oppression had been effected. One had only to look at the universities to see what kind of men had been appointed professors by Herr von Mühler. Preference had evidently not been given by him to knowledge and scientific reputation, but, much more, to position in the Church and orthodox faith. How could there, then, be any wonder that the Prussian universities sank deeper and deeper? In a precisely similar way had Herr von Mühler proceeded respecting the different gymnasiums and lyceums, only steadfast believers

having received employment therein. Men of a free or even of a moderate tendency, were rejected, and it was exactly as if Herr von Mühler had possessed a mortal fear of acute understandings and able heads. It was thus, then, only natural that for the most part persons breathed more freely when this impediment to progress had at length quitted office. And not the less natural was it that there was loud rejoicing when it became known that the Privy Councillor of Justice (*Der Geheime Oberjustizrath*), Dr. Falk, had been nominated as his successor, on the 22nd January 1872. This was quite a different style of man. With such a person as he, Prince Bismarck could work hand in hand in proceeding against clerical lust after power, and the presumptions of the Jesuits and Ultramontanes; indeed it was precisely on this account that the Imperial Chancellor had effected his nomination. The Prussian Government would, however, have deeply sinned had it hesitated any longer to appoint a liberal Minister of Religion, as, in regard to the manner and way in which the Jesuits had conducted the colleges founded by them, and, indeed, all educational institutions, things now came to light respecting their mode of instruction, that made it imperatively necessary for the immediate interference of the highest authorities. With what aim and purpose, then, did the pious Fathers work? For the same object that had been attained in Spain, Ireland, and the States of the Church; in short, wherever the Jesuitical Ultramontane system had won supremacy for itself. One had only to look to Posen, or even Silesia, for instance, in the Government district of Oppeln; the grossest ignorance made itself there apparent, and the instruction was limited entirely to what the Jesuits called religion. Now, as for this latter, the teachings of the Syllabus played the chief part therein, together with the cursing of those who did not believe in the Infallibility of the Pope.

The new Prussian Minister of Religion thus perceived that to the operations of the Jesuits in the schools an immediate check must be imperatively put, and he introduced at once before the Prussian Chambers, in the beginning of February 1872, a new law as to school supervision, consisting of the following two paragraphs:—

“ 1. The inspection of all public educational institutions

rests with the State. On this account, all proper authorities and officials entrusted with this duty are commissioned for the purpose by the State.

"2. The nomination of local and circuit inspectors, and the limitation of their circuit of inspection, belongs to the State alone. The commission granted by the State to inspectors of public schools for the people, in so far as they conduct this charge as an extraordinary or honorary office, is at all times revokable. Those persons, however, to whom the inspection of schools for the people has been hitherto entrusted by command, are obliged to conduct this office in accordance with the regulations of the State, and are not allowed to indulge in vagaries of a contrary nature.

What was now the aim of this new law, which the Minister himself designated as merely a law of necessity? Nothing else, indeed, than the liberation of the schools from the influence of the Jesuitical-Ultramontane ecclesiastics. According to the arrangement hitherto obtaining, school inspection belonged to the clergy—the Protestant schools to the Protestant parsons, and, on the other hand, the Catholic schools to the Catholic priests, or, in other words, the ecclesiastical gentry were the "born" school inspectors.

How, for instance, did the Catholic ecclesiastics exercise school inspection in the territory of Posen? They united themselves with the Polish nobility, in order to annihilate the German element in the country, and to separate this land from Prussia. Yes, indeed, the old Pole must be re-established within his former boundaries, in order that Jesuitism might there be enabled to flourish again as formerly; and on that account instruction in German became not only neglected, but regular opposition was made against it. By such conduct the Jesuitical Ultramontane ecclesiastics had carried the matter so far that, for example, in the West Prussian communities, which formerly were purely German, the German language was now no longer understood by the rising generation. And could the Prussian Government tolerate any longer such a calamity? It was bad enough that the ministers Raumer and Von Mühler had so long retained in their hands the Jesuitical Polish propaunda. Now, when the German Empire had been again constituted, one must proceed in earnest and with energy; and, consequently, the law concerning school inspection, brought forward by Dr.

Falk, was approved by a large majority in the Prussian Parliament, and later, also, in the Upper House. It is true, indeed, that the Prussian Catholic bishops at once strongly protested against this step, declaring that the inspection of schools, as daughters of the Church, rested alone with the clergy, not with the State. But what did this protest signify! The King established this law by his signature, and it became valid throughout the whole of the Prussian dominion.

What happened, however, in consequence of this, in the province of Posen, when the extraordinary revision of schools was held? Wherever school inspection had been exercised by a Jesuitical Polish-disposed ecclesiastic, instruction in the German language had been totally neglected; while as regards Prussian history and geography, as well as the relations of the Prussian States, the pupils were totally ignorant thereof. Indeed, in many village schools the pupils could not actually tell to what State and country they belonged, and still less had they any knowledge as to how the King of Prussia and Emperor of Germany was designated. At that time, when the Jesuitical Ultramontane movement was so much exciting the minds of all, it suddenly became known that an apothecary, formerly of Posen, had been arrested, on the 21st February 1872, because he was strongly suspected of contemplating an attempt on the life of the Imperial Chancellor, Prince Bismarck. The investigation which followed showed that the accused was called Emilius Westerwelle, and that he was in close relation with Prebendary Kozmian, of Posen, confidential adviser of the Archbishop of Posen-Gnesen, Count Ledochowski. A domiciliary search was made at the house of the said Prebendary, which elicited extraordinary disclosures. Not, however, concerning Westerwelle, who was afterwards pronounced to be not guilty, but in regard to Prebendary Kozmian and his intimate friends the Jesuits. It transpired that he kept in Posen a large establishment in which a young Polish nobleman was retained by the Jesuit teachers as assistant in matters of school instruction; at this time, however, by order of the Archbishop named, he had to undergo, as a Church punishment, seclusion in the Jesuit cloister of Schrimm, because, in company with a disreputable woman in the bathing-place of Homburg, he had partly wasted in riotous living, and partly gambled away, a



large sum of money, which, as Peter's pence, was destined for the Holy Father in Rome. The domiciliary search was now extended to the Jesuit cloister at Schrimm, and again something remarkable came to light; letters were found there proving that the Polish Ultramontane movement in Posen entirely proceeded from the Jesuits, and, also, that the members of the so-called Central party in the Parliament were not by any means ignorant as to the matter. Further proof was found that the Pope, at the instigation of the Jesuits, had nominated a Primate of Poland, and that this step stood in close relationship with the efforts of the nobility in Posen to set up again the Polish kingdom—seeing that, according to old Polish law, the Primate of Poland was representative of the King and possessor of political power when the Polish throne was vacated. Lastly, it was found that a number of foreign Jesuits were disporting themselves on Posen territory, with no other object than that of guiding and firmly uniting the connection of the Posen nobility with the nobility in Russian Poland, as well as Galicia. This was a highly important discovery, which justified Prince Bismarck in instantly proceeding against the sons of Loyola by State measures; but, ere doing so, he wished still to try beforehand a final remedy. He therefore endeavoured, through an understanding with the Roman Curie, to get the mastery over them without being obliged to resort to force on his side. Accordingly, at the end of April 1872, it was suddenly reported that Cardinal Prince Hohenlohe had been nominated to be German Ambassador at the Holy Papal See, and, of course, it was perceived therefrom that a great concession had been made to the Catholic Church. The German Empire to be represented at the Holy See, not only by a good Catholic, acknowledged to be faithful, but by one of the Princes of the Church of the highest standing! What more could the Pope desire? Therein lay, indeed, the proof that the German Government was earnestly desirous of maintaining peace with Rome, and of fulfilling all just demands of the Catholics.

But there was one thing that could not be forgotten: Cardinal Prince Hohenlohe had remained a German in all his words and actions, and had never yielded to the influence of the Jesuits. They therefore entertained a decided hatred towards him, and contrived to keep him always far away from the Papal Court.

People were all the more eager to know how the Pope would take the nomination ; but, fortunately, curiosity was not long kept in suspense. Under date the 25th April 1872, Derenthal, the German Chargé d'Affaires in Rome, communicated to Antonelli, the Cardinal Secretary of State, in a confidential way, that the nomination had taken place, and asked, at the same time, whether the same was agreeable to the Pope. The Secretary of State gave no reply for several days; consequently, Derenthal repeated the question on the 1st of May. The Cardinal Secretary of State at once replied, on the 2nd of May, "he had not omitted to obtain the orders of the Pope, but His Holiness, although not insensible to the intentions of His Imperial Majesty, found himself, nevertheless, in the disagreeable position of being unable to authorise the reception of so delicate and important an office by a Cardinal of the Holy Romish Church, particularly under the present circumstances of the Holy See."

Thus the Ambassador nominated by the German Emperor was rejected by the Pope, and in such a way, indeed, as could hardly be more rude. Was there not therein a deadly insult? Everyone knows that the rejection of a newly-named Ambassador had, perhaps, never before happened, and Prince Bismarck expressed himself as follows on the matter: "It very seldom occurs that the question arises whether the person of an Ambassador appointed to a friendly Court is a *persona grata*. An answer in the negative is an invitation to cancel the selection. I have been now for one-and-twenty years engaged in the business of higher diplomacy, but this is the first case, during this time, of a refusal. It more frequently happens that a Court is desirous for the recall of an Ambassador already accredited to it for a long period. When in such a case the wish is confidentially expressed for a change in the individual, there is in the background an experience of several years' intercourse; but I cannot call to mind the rejection of a newly-appointed representative." Thus, the refusal of Prince Cardinal Hohenlohe, whom the German Emperor had nominated his Ambassador in Rome, was a sharp insult to this most powerful of all European monarchs; and it was considered so in the latter's capital. But why had the Pope thus acted? After a few days it became apparent.

At first, Pius IX. and his Cardinal Secretary of State, Antonelli, were very much flattered at the circumstance that the German Emperor had sent an Ambassador to Rome, in the person of a cardinal, and they never for a moment contemplated declining the honour ; but the Jesuitical surrounding of the Pope, impelled by the hatred they had entertained during many years against Cardinal Hohenlohe, represented the matter as indicating the initiation of an anti-Catholic policy, judging, that is, from the character of the person sent, and moved the weak Pius IX.—their plaything during many years—to proceed against the German Empire in the manner which has been represented.

Prince Bismarck—or, better said, the German Government—now knew what to think of the position in relation to the Roman Senate. On the part of Germany, the Pope's Government had been met in the most friendly manner, the hand for an understanding having been held out ; the Senate, however, declined the offer with a rude haughty spirit, and proclaimed, at the same time, that it had nothing to do with peace. What peace, what understanding, what compromise ? Was it likely the German Empire would submit, and blindly approve of all the demands of Rome ? Would it proclaim the Syllabus, and regulate its code of laws according thereto ? Would it recognise the Infallibility of the Pope, and therewith also his right of sovereignty over all temporal governments ? Would it adopt measures to restore the old Catholics, and, lastly, bring all its Protestant subjects into the lap of the only saving Church ? If it was to act thus, then would the Pope graciously grant it peace, and there would be nothing more on earth but heavenly felicity.

This was clearly the position which Rome took up : there could be no longer any doubt about it. "Still," the Imperial Chancellor asked himself, "who has influenced Rome to assume this position ?" There could, of course, be no other answer to the question than "that the sons of Loyola had done it." It was they who had everywhere poisoned the instruction of the Catholic youth ; it was they who had hounded on the German bishops to battle against the laws ; it was they who had preached open sedition in Posen ; it was they who rebelled in everything against the State. It was to them the invention of the Syllabus and the Infallibility was due ; and shall Germany

submit any longer to this? Would it be justified in quietly leaving the matter alone until things had gone on to such a height as to occasion another Thirty Years' War?

Truly, indeed, had there been any other man at the head of the Imperial Government than the magnificent statesman we possess in Prince Bismarck, and, moreover, had there not been a colossal majority of the German people against the Jesuits, things would have taken a different turn from what actually occurred.

Indeed, in October 1871, the German Protestant Assembly had unanimously passed the following resolutions:

"I. Respecting the dogma of the Papal Infallibility. (1) In so far as the Infallibility of the Pope, determined by the Council of the Vatican of 1870, simply implies the intention of establishing the absolute authority of the Pope within the Catholic Church, the Protestant Union abstains from any remark regarding it. (2) In so far, however, as the new Romish dogma shall serve, in a Jesuitical sense, (a) to attack the sovereignty of modern States in general, and the German Empire in particular, (b) to endanger the confessional peace in Germany, (c) to threaten the liberty of mind, freedom of conscience, and our whole culture; the German Protestants, and the whole of the German people, are induced and obliged to oppose determinedly this threat to States, to peace, and to modern freedom of thought, and to operate vigorously and carefully for the removal of these serious perils.

"II. As regards the Jesuit Order. In consideration (1) that the Jesuit Order consists entirely of members who are estranged from their families, from civil society, from their native country, and implicitly obey the orders of their Roman superiors; (2) that the Jesuit Order is no union of free individuals, but a strictly disciplined spiritual army corps, under officers and a supreme General; (3) that the Society, since its re-establishment by Pius VII. (Bull of 7th August 1814), as before its abolition by Pope Clement XIV. (Brief of 21st July 1773), worked with the sole object of renewing and accentuating the mediæval supremacy of the Roman Hierarchy over the human mind, and setting up again the supreme power of the Pope of Rome over princes and peoples; (4) that the Jesuit Order has declared war against the entire cultivation of mind in the world, no less than against modern law, and civil as well as political liberty

(see Encyclica of the Pope of 8th December 1864), and has striven to hinder the religious moral development of mankind ; (5) that it disturbs and undermines the peace of families in a way which threatens the continuance and development of the German Empire, and on every occasion shows enmity to the rights of German Protestantism ; (6) that it destroys the education of youth by priestly training, by mortification of the love of truth, by the annihilation of conscientious spontaneity, by slavish submission to the authority of the hierarchy, and thereby deeply injures the development of the formation of the character and mind of the nation and of individuals ; (7) that it promotes superstition and the weakness of men for the increase of riches, and wickedly contributes to the extension of its dominion ; (8) that the freedom of union and of religious associations are only rightly constituted in so far as they conform to the ordinances of the State and of law, and are subordinate to the same:—in consideration of all these things, the German Protestant Union expresses its conviction that the security of legal order, and the authority of the laws and the power of the State, the well-being of civil society, the preservation of confessional peace, and the protection of spiritual freedom and spiritual culture, demand the State prohibition of the Jesuit Order in Germany. The Union also looks upon it as an earnest duty of the German Protestants, and of the whole German nation, to act in regard thereto with energy, that all interference in school and church matters, should be put a stop to as regards those belonging and affiliated to the Jesuit Order."

Thus did the German Protestant Union express itself unanimously in October 1871, hailing from Darmstadt, where it was then assembled, and hundreds of thousands joyfully agreed with it. However, of course, the German bishops, at the head of whom were those of Ratisbon, Limburg, and Paderborn, at once espoused the cause of their oppressed friends, the sons of Loyola, and most energetically and openly declared their intense grief, as well as moral indignation, at the most unwarrantable persecution of the calumniated members of the Society of Jesus.

"The same" (the members of the Order of Jesus), affirmed the Archbishops of Cologne and Posen, as well as the Bishops of Breslau, Treves, and Münster, in a declaration of somewhat later date, "distinguish themselves by a truly moral and Chris-

tian behaviour, and by their thorough knowledge, their sound principles in theological science, as well as their zealous and blessed efficacy in the cure of souls, leaving besides, nothing indeed, to be desired. As regards their attitude, also, towards the State, it is, indeed, the truest and most loyal, and it can be only evil-disposed men who would accuse them of anything to the contrary."

It would have been cowardly had the bishops acted differently; but facts are not to be controverted by phrases, and it was bad, indeed, very bad for the Jesuits, that proofs of their generally injurious proceedings, so inimical to the State, accumulated daily more and more. Therefore, when the Parliament assembled in the spring of 1872, at Berlin, petitions to it poured in from all sides, which took their stand-point on the Protestant Union, and demanded the prohibition of the Order of Jesus by the State. The most remarkable thing, however, as regards these petitions, was that they proceeded almost entirely from Catholic supplicants, and each of them supported itself upon authenticated facts. It is true, indeed, that petitions were also presented against the expulsion of the sons of Loyola, and, indeed, to the very considerable number of 151. But when the particulars in regard to the preparation of these latter were investigated, it was found that they all ran quite alike, and had been manufactured after the same model, and hawked about by some friends of the Jesuits.

Could any value, then, be attached to such kind of fictitious things? No, certainly not; on the contrary, the other petitions were all the more to be regarded with attention, because they desired that a highly cancerous affection should be extirpated. The Parliament was looked to with anxious eyes, as to how it would settle the matter; and, at first, it was not known for certain whether one might rejoice or not. It was reported, indeed, that the Liberal majority in the Parliament intended to request the Imperial Chancellor "to bring about an understanding in the Federal Government, on the general principles relative to Religious Orders, in order to establish legal protection to subjects of the State against ecclesiastical authority, a project of law being submitted to Parliament, whereby the settlements of Jesuits and other allied Orders should depend upon the approval of the State."

It was thus reported, and, in fact, the Parliamentary Commission which had to consult about the Jesuit petitions decided on a proposition to this effect, by a majority. But, already, in the said Commission, voices made themselves heard which went much further, and especially Deputy Windhorst, of Berlin, expressed himself in the following terms: "The Order of Jesus is dangerous to the Empire, because it teaches unconditional submission to the hierarchy, and ascribes to the Church rights which are incompatible with the existence of a well-ordered State. The Jesuits are also dangerous to the Empire because they have persecuted the new Empire with glowing hatred, excited false representations among the Catholic population, sought to diminish the value of the Empire, and represented it as a declared enemy of the Church and of religion. Lastly, the Jesuits are dangerous also to culture, because they have disturbed the peace of civil society, and impeded the moral development of the people. They are, therefore, to be opposed with all, even the most severe measures, and only a law of prohibition, which must be courageously enforced, can be of any avail."

The motion of the Committee for Petitions, it will be seen, appeared too lukewarm in the eyes of Deputy Windhorst, of Berlin, and when, in the middle of May, the Imperial Diet entered into consultation on the subject, many sided with him from the outset.

"From the very day"—thus reasoned Deputy Wagener of Newstettin—"from the very day on which the Vatican Council was inaugurated, the religious dissensions in Germany are to be dated. The Governments have hitherto shown an unpardonable indulgence in this matter, and hence the Catholic Church deems herself more powerful than in reality she is. There exists, however, a very large party within her who crave to be freed from the oppression now exercised by Rome—an oppression which, even by good Catholics, is denounced as quite unbearable. The Jesuitical reaction starts from the principle of ignoring entirely the State, and straightway identifies revolution and reform. It is impossible for the German Government to face with folded hands an agency which questions the very foundations of the State; and, therefore, it is likewise impossible for the State any longer to maintain the same position with regard to the Jesuits which it has maintained until now."

Several other members of the Diet spoke in the same strain, amongst the number, Kiefer (from Baden), Fisher (of Augsburg), Lucius, Schulze, Marquardsen, and M. Barth. Finally, Wagener and Marquardsen joined in the following motion :

"The petitions anent the Jesuits are to be made over to the Chancellor of the Empire, with the demand : 1. To bring about such a condition of the public law as will secure religious peace, parity of all confessions, and the protection of the citizens against any encroachments on their rights on the part of the spiritual power. 2. In particular, and, if possible, during the present session, to bring in a Bill which (on ground of the preamble and Article IV., paragraphs 13 and 16 of the Imperial Constitution) will regulate the legal status (*modus standi* ?) of religious Orders, congregations, and communities, the question of their admission, and the conditions thereof, and will render their proceedings, particularly those of the Society of Jesus, in so far as they are dangerous to the State, punishable by law."

On this motion a division took place in the Imperial Diet on May 16th, 1872, and it was carried by the immense majority of 205 votes against 84.

Thus the Diet left it, as it were, with the discretion of the Imperial Government to proceed with more or less severity against the religious Orders, particularly the Jesuits, and people watched with intense curiosity, to see how it would act. At first it appeared as if, for the present, *i.e.* during this session, no Bill concerning the ecclesiastical relations would be brought in ; for, in the first instance, such a highly important matter could not be treated precipitately ; and, in the second place, the regulation of the relations between State and Church could only be established in its entirety by a whole series of laws. But the Catholic clergy, or rather the Jesuitical Ultramontane party which swayed them, bore itself with greater arrogance every day ; and it soon became evident that, at least against the Jesuits, some immediate measures must be taken. Some stop had to be put to their intrigues, unless the State was to abdicate all authority, and consequently the Federal Council deliberated at once on the question.

After a few meetings, it came to the resolution that in this very session a Bill of Urgency against the Jesuits should be



moved, and as early as the 11th of June 1872 it was ready framed. Its wording was :

"Project of a law concerning the limitation of the right of domicile of the Jesuits in the German Empire. § 1. To the members of the Order of Jesuits, or of any congregation affiliated to this Order, even if they are natives of Germany, the domicile in any spot of the federal territory can be interdicted by the local police authority. § 2. All regulations requisite for the enacting of this law will be issued by the Federal Council."

This short project was submitted to the Diet on June 12th, 1872, and two days later it already stood on the order of the day. Naturally so, for momentous interests were at stake.

On the 14th of June 1872, the consultation regarding the Jesuit law difficulty began; and a hot day it was, this 14th of June. The great friend of the Jesuits, Mallinkrodt, the most accomplished and clear-sighted head of the Ultramontane Central Party, opened the debate, and omitted nothing that could be said in praise of the Jesuits. But Deputy Wagener, of Newstettin, replied to him not the less sharply and incisively, and his opposition carried with it all the more weight as he was invested with the high office of Councillor in the Prussian Ministry of Foreign Affairs. He showed, in the first place, that the proposed law was merely one of necessity, and proved that it rested on a real need, because the doings of the Jesuits had risen to a height dangerous to the State in the fullest degree. He proved, by official documents, that those black Fathers aimed at nothing less than collecting together all the enemies of the Empire, in order, in combination with France, to begin a war of revenge. He proved, moreover, that during the summer, large Jesuit missions were to be held in Posen and Silesia, in order to set up a general Polish insurrection, strengthened by the Poles in Galicia. He proved that the disobedience of the bishops, and their recusance in regard to the observance of the laws, were fomented by the Jesuits, and that their aim in such a line of conduct could be no other than the kindling of strife which, as a matter of fact, had, indeed, already begun. He proved—but what need have I to occupy myself any longer with details?

The great majority of Parliament on that memorable 14th of June, was thoroughly on the side of Government, and it became,

indeed, apparent, that if peace were to be maintained, the proposed law must, indeed, be made even more severe, and the expulsion of the Jesuits enforced in its entirety.

At the second sitting of Parliament, on the proposition of Deputy Meyer von Thorn, it was accordingly resolved by the Liberal section as follows:

"1. The Society of Jesus and all Orders allied to it, as well as congregations of a similar nature, are prohibited within the territory of the German Empire. The establishment of settlements of this Society is interdicted. The settlements at the present time existing must be dissolved within a time fixed upon by Parliament, at the most not exceeding six months.

"2. Those belonging to the Society of Jesus, and any congregation allied to them, may, if they are foreigners, be expelled from the German Empire; in so far, however, as they may possess German rights and privileges, their sojourn shall be forbidden in certain districts, or a fixed place of residence assigned to them.

"3. For the carrying into effect of this law, regulations shall be determined by Parliament. The measures adopted in this respect shall be executed by the police authorities. Difficulties in regard to any arrangements which may be ordered in conformity with this law appertain to Parliament, which may commission a committee, appointed by it, for the discharge of the same. There shall be no delay regarding any difficulties."

This modification of the project of law was not only an improvement upon that drawn up by the German Government, it was, in fact, something quite new, totally differing from the previous scheme. The Government contemplated no further object in their plan than to obtain a permit, in order to enable them to proceed against Jesuitism; but now it was proposed to make a law according to which no Jesuit might in future exist on German territory, and if this proposition passed through, the Government would be compelled to eject all Jesuits.

The debate upon this new modification of the Jesuit law, came on in Parliament on the 17th June, and the result was its approval by a large majority. The chief stroke was given by Deputy Völk, known as a Bavarian Catholic, and we cannot do better than quote some passages from his speech. "It is

a question," said he, "as to whether the German Empire shall become subservient to the Jesuit power, or liberate itself from the same. Were it merely a matter regarding the five or six hundred Jesuits, viewed as individuals, it would not be worth the trouble to make so much talk about it, but it is a point as to whether the whole Jesuit Ultramontane clergy, as a huge corporation, shall be allowed to comport itself like a great power. Indeed, it is a question affecting the Papal power itself, which, in our days, has identified itself with Jesuitism, and it has come so far as this, that the Jesuit Ultramontane Catholics represent themselves to be the only true representatives of the Faith. The new Romish Jesuitical reactionary combination permeates through the whole of Europe, and, as the Jesuits have made themselves tributary to Rome and the Romish Church, thus the German clergy has also become in a great degree subservient to them. Look at Spain; there, at least, 200 Ultramontane parsons stand at the head of the Carlist insurrection that has broken out. Look at France; there an alliance is notoriously sought with the Jesuits, in order that by means of the combinations which they maintain in Germany, a revenge may be taken on this latter State. Indeed, in France they calculate on this alliance with the German Catholics, and, on this account, one may read almost every day in the Ultramontane organs of the press the quite unconcealed threat, 'Only wait until the French come back again, we shall then show to you what will become of the German Empire!' Look at Belgium; shall we, perchance, allow things to come to pass with us as they have done there? Shall we wait until the Jesuits have also eaten themselves into all circles among us, until capital as well as labour have become subservient to Jesuitism? I have a conviction that the spirit of the German people will become master of the Romish and despotic Jesuitism. But do not let us think meanly of the struggle! Had things been allowed to remain as they were of old in Rome; had not all the new decrees been issued under the guidance of the Jesuit Order, which have in every war engendered discontent and hatred, it would not have arrived so far as a combat. But we have thus been attacked, and we must accept battle. We now do so, and I am confident we shall obtain the victory; so surely as the German people have driven the foreigners in defeat over the Rhine,

in like manner, also, will they know how to drive the foreign foe over the Alps."

Thus spake Catholic Völk, and afterwards the project of law—as it had been proposed by Deputy Meyer von Thorn—came to be accepted by a most decisive majority, at the third reading, on the 19th of June 1872, after it had undergone some immaterial amendments. The Parliament thereupon directed that the Order of Jesus, with all its dependencies, should no longer have any existence in Germany; and it only now remained to be seen whether the Imperial Government would act upon this decision. But how could there be any doubt about it, as there had not been the least opposition in Parliament to the proposition of Meyer? The authorities must certainly have been in favour of the law, otherwise they would have pursued a different course of conduct, and it appeared to be also certain that the other Governments of the Diet would give their hearty approval. But all doubt disappeared when, on the 10th of July, the law, bearing date 4th July, relative to the Society of Jesus, was promulgated in the Imperial Law Gazette; it ran thus:—

"1. The Order of Jesus and the societies allied to it, as well as congregations similar thereto, are excluded from the territories of the German Empire. The establishment of settlements of the same is interdicted. The settlements at the present time existing are to be dissolved within a period to be fixed by Diet, which shall not exceed six months.

"2. Those belonging to the Order of Jesus, or to Orders allied to it, or to congregations similar thereto, shall, if they are foreigners, be expelled out of German territory; if they are natives of Germany, their place of residence in certain districts or places, is prohibited as may be decreed.

"3. The necessary regulations as to the carrying out and securing the complete execution of this law shall be issued by the Diet."

It was thus proclaimed in the Imperial Law Gazette, and it now became apparent that the sons of Loyola, together with those connected with them, and the congregations dependent on them, would shortly disappear from German soil. Yes, indeed, it was clear that they would depart; or, as may be better said, be made to depart, and in fact the work was at once commenced. The first of the Black Cloaks who prepared themselves for

departure were those in Essen, and their emigration took place, partly to Holland, Denmark, and England, partly to France, Spain, and North America. After them went the Fathers of Maria-Laach, as well as those of Cologne; the latter, however, only after having been made to declare, by the police, whereto they intended to direct their steps. In Posen, the pious Fathers acted as if the law of expulsion did not apply to them, and even on the 31st of July, they celebrated the festival of their founder, Ignatius Loyola, with extraordinary pomp; but on the day following, the District Council declared the congregation of their Church to be dissolved; forbade their reading mass, preaching, teaching, and hearing confessions; and fixed a short time for them to quit the cloister.

Precisely the same occurred during the first days of August, in Münster, in Metz (as in the new Imperial territory of Alsace-Lorraine the same law now applied), in Schrimm (whence the Fathers emigrated to Galicia, to gladden thereby the Austrian Empire), in Bonn, in Strasburg, in Aix-la-Chapelle, in Kreuzberg near Bonn, in Gorheim near Sigmaringen, in Marienthal and Bornhofen in Nassau territory, in Mayence, in Ratisbon, and all places where the Jesuits had settlements; and everywhere, or at least almost everywhere, they submitted themselves, without resistance, to the regulations of the police authorities. Only in Essen did there come to be some disturbances, but, on the whole, of inconsiderable character. At Ruda, in Silesia, the pious Fathers sought to evade the law, by declaring themselves to be only private individuals, the guests of Count Ballestrom, from whom they received board and lodging; but the police allowed no "x" to be made into an "u," and the sons of Loyola were obliged to take their departure out of Essen and Ruda, as well as their other settlements. And no regard was paid in the least degree to the circumstance that one or other called himself a high-born lord, a mediatised count, or a prince; for the aristocratic gentry were compelled to take their departure out of the Empire exactly as the citizens, seeing that the desire was to get rid of the objectionable Society under any circumstances.

But not merely were the Jesuits proper to be proceeded against, but all other Orders which stood in any close relationship to them, or even allowed themselves to be influenced by

them ; such as the Redemptionists, in the territory of Nassau, as well as in Treves and Bochum ; the school-sisters, who in great numbers had taken possession of the people's schools throughout the whole of Germany, on account of the want of teachers ; the hospital Fathers in Posen territory, and the Sisters of Mercy in Kurnick and elsewhere ; the Franciskanissen, in Salzkotten (Westphalia) ; the Order of the Ladies of the Holy Heart (*Dames au Sacré Cœur*) in Silesia and Posen ; and the cloisters of Women of the Poor Child Jesus, in Bonn, and elsewhere on the Rhine. The ways and means, however, which were employed to ascertain what cloisters and Order communities should be abolished, were very simple.

The Burgomasters of all places in which monks and nuns were to be found, had to furnish replies to the following questions : "(1) Name of the Order. (2) Number of members (among whom, how many foreigners, and how many natives ? ) (3) Organisation (superintendence by superior General with unlimited legal powers). (4) Discipline (implicit obedience to superiors). (5) Object, aim, and principles (people's and Protestant missions, educational learning, moral teaching and educational method). (6) Connection with other Orders (affiliated to the Jesuits ; directed by the Jesuits)."

In this way a conclusion was soon formed as to which Orders were particularly dangerous ; and, although one or other of the Societies might deny being in any relationship to the Jesuits, they were at once abolished unless they were completely able to clear themselves. It was still, however, of far greater importance that an end should be made of the many unions which owed their origin to the Jesuits, and the Prussian Minister of Religion issued, with this object, the following order, under date 4th July 1872 :

"It has come to my knowledge that in several provinces of the State there exist many congregations, arch-brotherhoods of the Family of Jesus, Mary, and Joseph, and other religious bodies, which are intended partly for the instruction of scholars at gymnasia and universities, as well as other higher educational institutions, partly that these latter persons should become enrolled members. I resolve, therefore, that the religious communities now existing, connected with gymnasia and the higher educational institutions, shall be dissolved ; that the scholars thereof shall be forbidden to sympathise with these religious

bodies in any way ; and that all proceedings raised in opposition to this prohibition shall be severely punished—if necessary, by removal from the institution."

What a new blow was this for the Ultramontane party! Those unions had been expressly called into existence by the Jesuits in order to indoctrinate the students and pupils of the gymnasia in superstition, as well as in order to obtain from them a contribution for the Pope from the weekly money given by the parents. They had been established with the view of exercising an absolute influence upon the students at gymnasia, and that they should be drilled into strict obedience to the Jesuitical superiors. The pupils and gymnasium students had to accede to those unions and sodalities, as they had to fear being punished by the professors adhering to the Jesuits, or being treated under the suspicion of being heretical. They had to put up with them because they were forced by moral compulsion ; and they were, therefore, immensely relieved when they found themselves freed from the unions, with their religious exercises and devotions.

The Jesuit Ultramontane party were under the impression that the Government of the German Empire would not dare to enter into the lists against them. They believed this, because they held it as their opinion that they would have at their back the whole Catholic population of Germany, and that it would be fool-hardy on the part of the authorities to make so many millions their deadly enemies, or even to excite them to raise a revolution. But, behold, it now appeared that the Catholic population of Germany was, in by far the greater part, not in the least affected by the expulsion of the Jesuits. It is certainly true that some of the German bishops loudly and publicly protested against the Jesuit law, "as a severe injury to the legitimate independence and liberty of the Catholic Church, and of its inner religious life." It is undeniable that they proclaimed to the world, trumpet-tongued, that there never had been a holier or more respectable Order than the Society of Jesus, "the whole of whose members were filled with the most sincere respect for authority, and most intense love of their Fatherland." It is certainly the case that here and there Ultramontane ecclesiastics held devotional services for the "oppressed" Church ; and, again, that others ascended their pulpits in order to call for an

intensely sad farewell to the "pillars of heaven" (that is to say, the sons of Loyola). It must certainly be admitted that the Ultramontane print, *Germania*, devoted to the exiles a highly pathetic greeting on their departure, in which the sentence occurred that the martyred sons of Loyola left Germany as "victors"; and in this respect it was imitated by other prints of the same nature. It cannot also be gainsaid that there was much wailing and gnashing of teeth among the praying sisters of the Catholic cathedrals, and that they would not be comforted at all, at the loss of their beloved Father Confessors.

How did the great majority, however, of the Catholics of Germany take up the matter? It may be well said, with inner satisfaction, if not with unspeakable joy; "at all events, with the persuasion that the Imperial Government had acted rightly in expelling from their entire borders the cruel disturbers of peace, the deadly enemies of toleration and authorised equality of belief." On that account, nowhere, with the exception of the town of Essen, did there occur any agitation or dissatisfaction, in that the Jesuits had to take their departure, but, on the contrary, all breathed more freely, and it was even said by many Catholic parsons, "God be praised"; as, of course, wherever the Jesuits made their appearance, there they set up their missions, in order to make the abode of the wicked hot for the easily-excitabile people; there they brought strife into society and into families; there they put the clergy against the overseers, and denounced everyone who did not work with fire and flame in their interest. Thus the whole of the thinking world, among Catholics as well as among Protestants, repeated the words "God be praised that they have gone"; and abroad it was thought that we Germans were indeed fortunate in having such a Government.

Moreover, the Prusso-German Government proceeded against the bosom friends and chief protectors of the Society, viz. the bishops, as they had done against the Jesuits and Jesuitical unions, inasmuch as these magnates of the Church, in declining obedience to existing laws, had made interference necessary; and the first instance of this occurred in the case of Chaplain-General Ramzanowski, Titular Bishop of Agathopolis.

In Cologne, for twenty-four years, the Catholic military worship of God had taken place in the Evangelical Garrison Church of St. Pantaleon, with approval and agreement on all sides. Now



the old Catholics in Cologne proposed, in January 1872, that they should be allowed, at certain stated hours, to have a service for themselves in St. Pantaleon. This was permitted with the consent of the Prussian War Ministry. Upon this Chaplain-General Ramzanowski declared the said church to be desecrated—one sees here how the Infallibilists hated those who denied the Papal infallibility—and, without asking the Minister for War, or even making him the least acquainted with the matter, interdicted the parson, Eünnemann, at Cologne, from further holding the Catholic service in the Church of St. Pantaleon. The parson obeyed, intimating the circumstance to the Minister of War. The latter, however, represented at once to the Chaplain-General the impropriety of his conduct, as also the possible consequences thereof, and demanded that the Catholic military public worship should be held, as before, in the said church. Naturally the Chaplain-General, a subordinate of the Minister of War, ought simply to have obeyed; but, instead of doing so, he informed his superior that he had referred the matter to the Pope in Rome, in order to make himself certain as to how far his conduct met with the approbation of His Holiness. This was unexampled presumption; nevertheless it was shortly to become even more glaring.

On the 21st of May 1872, the Chaplain-General Ramzanowski, by order of the Pope, laid an interdiction and prohibition on the use of the Pantaleon church, as having been desecrated by the Old Catholics, and, by direction of His Holiness, prohibited afresh the parson Eünnemann from the exercise of any ecclesiastical act whatever in the said church; further, he threatened the latter with excommunication in the event of disobedience, and declared that the church would remain under this interdict as long as it continued to be in the use of the Old Catholics. By this step arrogance was now brought to its height; as there was, in this conduct, not only a public disobedience to the War Ministry, but also a solemn infringement of the rights of the State, under whose protection all creeds are placed on an equality. Besides, did it not appear evident in the clearest manner, from the appeal made to the Pope by the Chaplain-General, that the holy Father was to be looked upon as the supreme ruler, before whom all peoples and governments had to bow the head? The Prussian Government, of course,

instantly suspended the Bishop Chaplain-General from all his functions, and forbade the whole of the Catholic military clergy from paying attention, in any way whatever, to any orders of their ecclesiastical chief.

They proceeded not the less determinedly, also, against Bishop Dr. Cremenz, of Ermeland, and they were compelled to do so to prevent themselves losing all respect whatever. The said bishop, a most vehement Ultramontane, to be compared to few, allowing himself to be led astray by his Jesuit counsellors, had, at the end of the year 1871, when the pious Fathers had not yet been expelled, proceeded to decree the great excommunication against Professors Dr. Michelis and Dr. Wollmann, because they professed Old Catholicism, and even proclaimed from the pulpit this punishment of the Church. This latter step, up to the present, no bishop, not even an archbishop, had dared to do ; and now the question came before the Prussian Government whether it could tolerate such a thing. The matter was considered in all its aspects ; but it was, at length, unanimously agreed that an injury to the reputation of the State lay in this Church punishment, which was directly contradictory to Prussian law. Consequently, the Minister of Public Worship, no longer Herr von Mühler, but Dr. Falk, challenged the Bishop to explain, respecting this, how he could bring his measure of excommunication into accordance with the pledged obligations of his honour as a citizen. The Bishop found it convenient not to give any answer, probably with the hope that the thing might be allowed to go to sleep ; but this did not happen, and the result was that, in April 1872, an admonition came from the Minister of Public Worship. So then Bishop Cremenz found himself compelled to give an answer ; but what was it that he replied ? Simply this, "that a contradiction between State law and ecclesiastical law did not at all exist, while an injury to the honour of the citizen excommunicated had not taken place through the publication of the excommunication ; in any case, however, ecclesiastical law was more binding for him than civil law." With this the Prussian Government was, as a matter of course, not satisfied, and the Minister of Public Worship was obliged to put a formal request before the Bishop whether he was willing to submit himself to the laws of the land. Thereupon an infinitely courteous and soft answer came from

the Bishop; an answer, however, the contents of which were not, on that account, at all satisfactory. The Bishop wrote "that he was quite prepared to obey the law of the land when the latter was not in contradiction to the law of God. Besides, it is for the Catholic Church, that is, for him, the Bishop, and in the last instance for the Pope, to decide what the law of God was. Now the *Excommunicatio major* undoubtedly belonged to the law of God, and, therefore, on that account, the Bishop could under no circumstances revoke it. On the contrary, he was obliged firmly to maintain the same in spite of the common law of Prussia." This amounted to a public mutiny against State law, and there remained nothing else, therefore, for the Government to do but to deny him the State recognition which had before this been accorded. In other words, there remained nothing for it but to break off all State relations with him, and to declare his enactments for the future null and void; and, what was the main thing, to withdraw the income—35,000 thalers—which he had hitherto derived from the State. That this would occur, the Bishop foresaw; but he hoped to be able to elude the dire blow by a personal appeal to the Emperor, whose acknowledged benevolence he claimed for himself. The above reply was written in August 1872, and in the following month a great fête was to be celebrated in Marienburg—"The reunion of the province of West Prussia and Ermeland with Germany, as had formerly been the case a hundred years ago." The Emperor had promised to be there, and one may imagine that the old Monarch would on that day have nothing but a smiling countenance for everyone. Building upon this, the Bishop had written an extremely humble letter to the Emperor, begging that he might be graciously allowed to appear at Marienburg at the head of his clergy, in order to testify to His Majesty the expression of attachment of the Catholic Church of Ermeland. Such a direct solicitation was very graciously accepted by the Emperor, and he ordained that, in the meantime, all harsh measures against the Bishop should be suspended; causing it, at the same time, to be intimated to the latter that it would not be in his power to receive from his hands a loyal address until the conflict still going on between the Bishop and the State Government had been settled. The Emperor accordingly demanded, in the most peremptory manner, "the Bishop shall absolutely

acknowledge the sovereignty of the State and the efficacy of the laws, and when this had taken place he, the Emperor, would then joyfully receive from the Bishop the expression of attachment." Upon this, the Bishop now addressed another letter to the Emperor, which he caused to be despatched on the 5th September, and in this letter he employed every artifice of dissimulation. "He recognised," said he therein, "the full sovereignty of secular authority in the dominion of the State, and declared that there existed no other power therein. For this reason, he would fulfil his duty by obedience to the laws to the fullest extent. On the other hand, however, he avowed that, in matters of faith, and in the way of eternal weal, the revelation and law of God served as the sole irrefragable rule, and he herein submitted himself with equal unreserve to the revelation of the Lord Jesus Christ, and to the authority of the Church instituted by Him."

What was the meaning of this? The Bishop declared that he recognised the sovereignty of the State in its own dominion, exactly in the same way as he unreservedly recognised ecclesiastical authority in its dominion. Did he not in this way leave a back door open for himself? Or how would it be when a State command stood in opposition to an ecclesiastical decree? When, for instance, the Pope ordered the Old Catholic professors to be excommunicated, while the State declared this to be contrary to the laws of the country, because no one could be openly deprived of his religion? Whom was the Bishop to obey in this case? Upon this the cunning gentleman did not express his opinion, under the conviction that the Emperor would not remark his Jesuitical reservation, and would be satisfied with his apparently cordial declaration. But the double meaning of the Bishop's language was at once recognised, and the Emperor commissioned Prince Bismarck to compel the ecclesiastic to make a candid declaration. With the view of carrying out this matter, the Prince now took his own peculiar way in order to put the Bishop, with his assurances of obedience, to the proof. If the spiritual lord really intended to render obedience to the law of the land, he must also acknowledge that he had to be subservient to the precept of the common law, which the so-called greater excommunication, without consent of the State, interdicted. He must also admit that,

as he had pronounced such excommunication in two cases, he had acted illegally. With this view, on the 9th September, Prince Bismarck wrote to the Bishop as follows :

“ The declaration of your Episcopal Grace, of the 5th of this month, to His Majesty the Emperor and King, bears in its aspect a contradictory character, though I cannot but hope that it will be possible for your Episcopal Grace to put His Majesty in a position that would enable him to receive you. But, as official counsellor of His Majesty the Emperor and King, I can only admit of the personal reception of your Episcopal Grace by the same most mighty potentate when it is first of all consistent with the dignity of the Crown, every doubt being removed by your unreservedly and completely acknowledging the authority of the laws of this country, made by our King. Your Episcopal Grace has broken the law of the land, inasmuch as you have decreed the greater excommunication publicly against subjects of His Majesty. According to my judgment, it cannot be difficult for your Episcopal Grace to acknowledge these facts to the ruler of your country. As soon as this acknowledgment is made, it will give me much pleasure to see every obstacle removed which, up to the present time, has prevented your personal reception by His Majesty, our most gracious lord and master.

“ V. BISMARCK.”

Thus did Prince Bismarck write, and there remained no longer any back door open for this tortuous-minded Bishop. What did he do, however ? He declined the admission that he had broken the law of the land, and thereby testified that it was impossible for him to obey the law of the land so long as the Church—that is, the Pope—commanded anything to the contrary. It now rested with the Government to take action, if it did not choose to acknowledge that the Church was predominant over the State ; and, therefore, the Bishop was informed that all payments to him would be discontinued, seeing that the income of the Bishop had only been granted him on condition he should acknowledge that the laws and constitution of Prussia were applicable to and binding upon him.

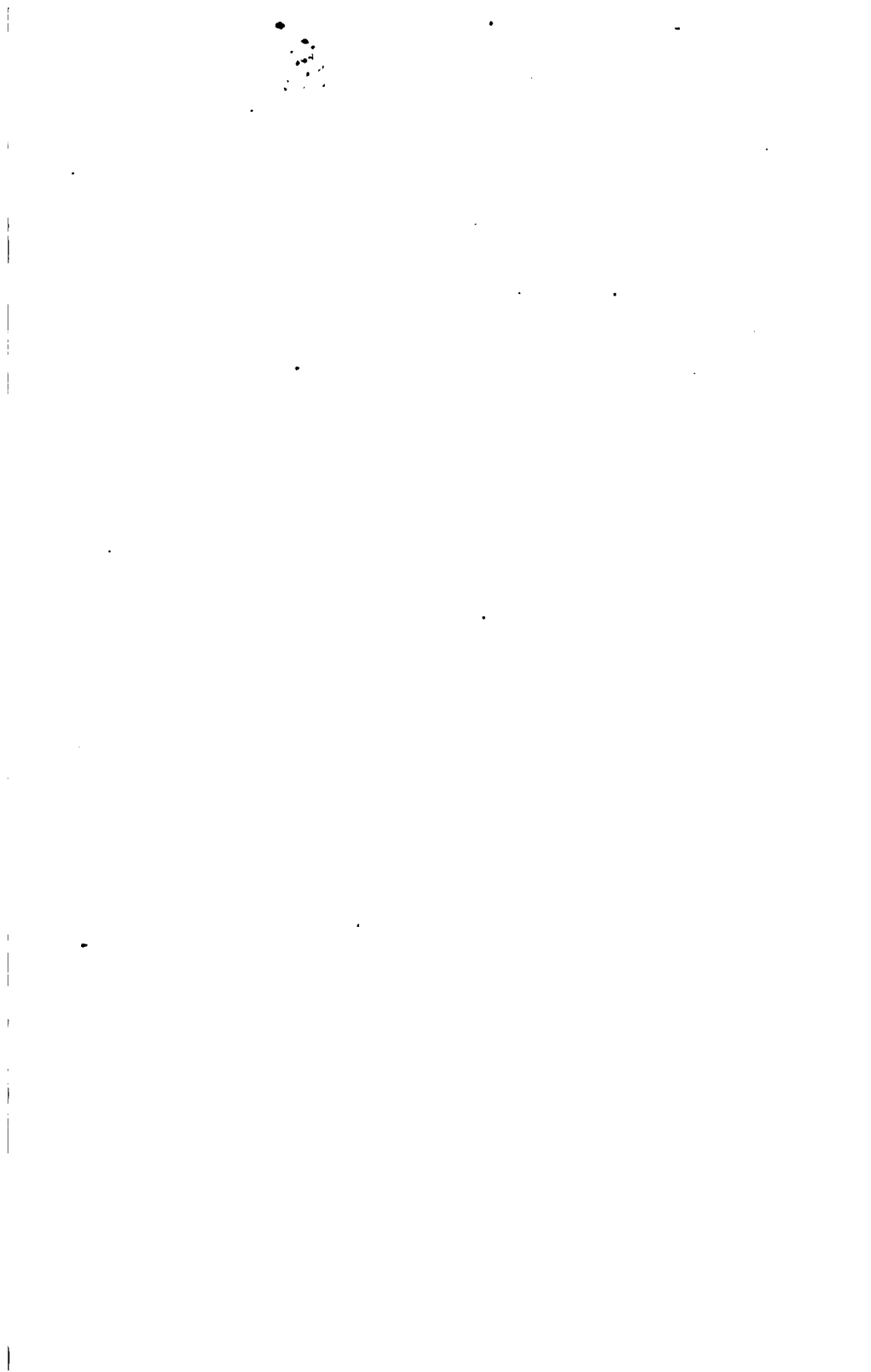
In this manner the Government of the German Emperor dealt with the presumptions of the Jesuitical Ultramontane

party ; but with this has all come to an end ? No ; what has already occurred was merely the beginning, and can, so to speak, only serve as a payment on account. The Jesuits have taken their departure, but the spirit of Jesuitism still remains in the bishops, and against them must the laws be so applied as to make all future ecclesiastical arrogance impossible. We, then, again repeat, " We have now done with the foreigners over the Rhine ; we shall deal similarly with the foreigners across the Alps."

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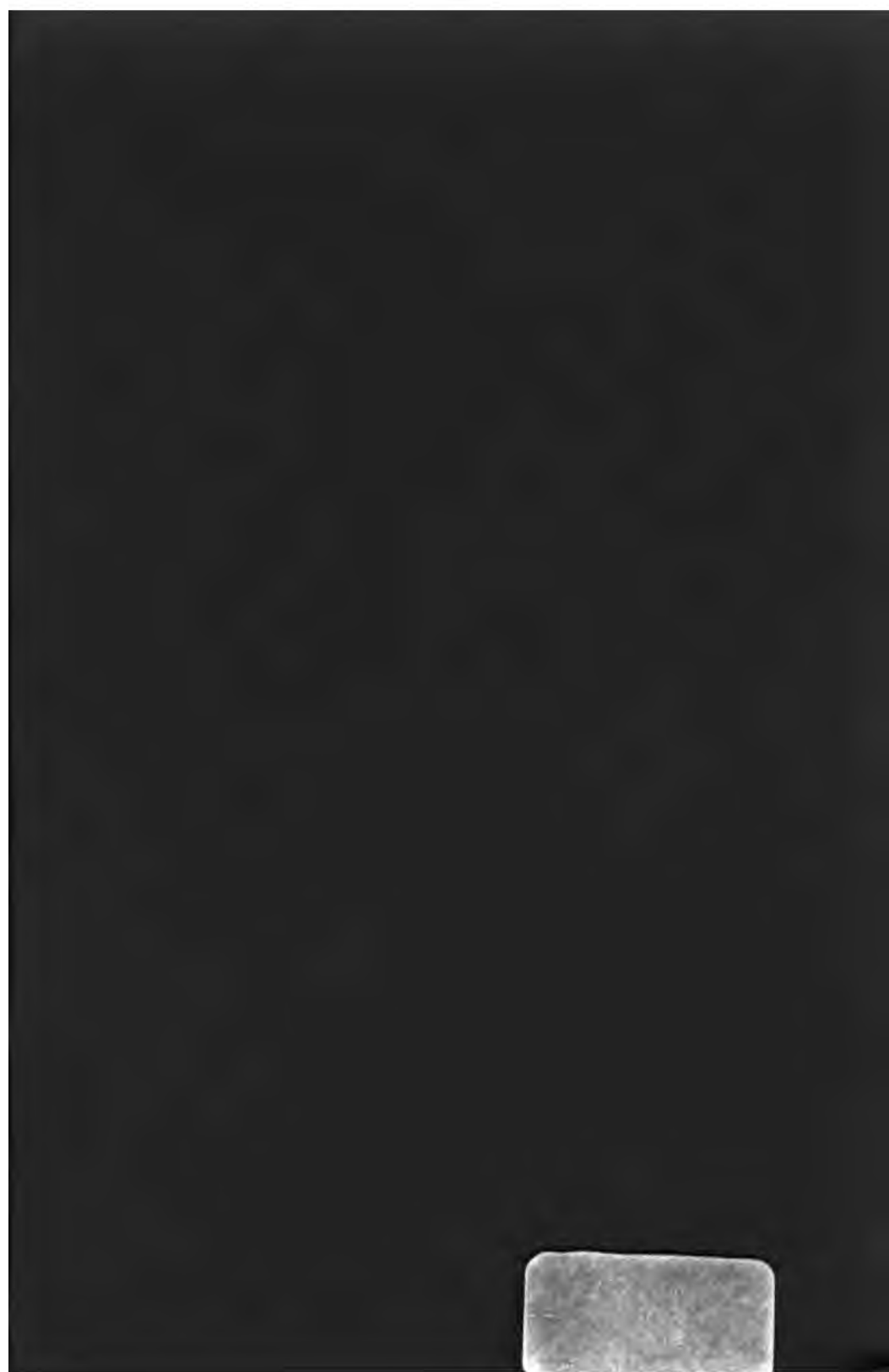
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